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MAKERS OF SCOTTISH
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RISE AND PROGRESS OF SCOTTISH
EDUCATION.

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MAKERS OF SCOTTISH EDUCATION

BY

ALEXANDER MORGAN

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WITH EIGHT PORTRAITS

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PREFACE

SCOTLAND has a great national tradition of education, and the purpose of this book is to give an account of the part played by the chief founders of that tradition, and by the benefactors without whose generosity the educational structure as we find it to-day could not have been built. It is hoped that such an account may enable students to trace for themselves the history of the great movements in Scottish Education, and may do something towards creating a more general and living interest in the system gradually built up by so much labour and sacrifice.

In dealing with a subject so wide, strict selection has been necessary. Only brief reference has been possible to the founding and nurturing of the Universities and Colleges. Had the plan of the book allowed, more might have been said about the great part played by the teachers of the country, who have been in the truest sense "Makers of Scottish Education."

I desire to express my gratitude for the advice and assistance of many friends while the book was in progress. I am especially indebted to Professor Godfrey H. Thomson of Edinburgh University, Dr William Boyd of Glasgow University, and Professor

PREFACE

Wm. M'Clelland of St Andrews University, for reading the book while in manuscript and making most helpful suggestions. In preparing the book for the press I have received invaluable assistance from Dr Archibald Milne, Edinburgh, and Mr A. G. Wallace, Aberdeen. I have benefited by talks at every stage with Mr D. M. Cowan, one of the distinguished Members of Parliament for the Scottish Universities.

I am indebted to the Editors of *The Times Educational Supplement* and *The Scotsman* for allowing me to use portions of articles contributed by me to their columns. I would also thank the various artists and photographers for permission to reproduce the copyright portraits that appear in the book.

ALEX. MORGAN.

EDINBURGH, *October* 1929.

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PART I

BEGINNINGS OF SCOTTISH EDUCATION

CHAPTER ONE

THE DRUIDS, ST. NINIAN, ST. COLUMBA

THE story of education in Scotland goes back into the dim and distant past, long before the Roman legions brought our savage forefathers into contact with a higher civilisation or Christianity had sent its first missionaries to our shores. In Scotland and other Celtic countries the sacred oak groves of the Druid priests were not only places of pagan rites and human sacrifice, but also schools of instruction in astrology, geography, and philosophy. Lucan, the Roman poet (A.D. 39-65), apostrophising the Druids, said, "To you is given knowledge or ignorance, whichever it be, of the gods and the powers of heaven; your temples are in the lone heart of the forest. From you we learn that the bourne of man's ghost is not the senseless grave, not the pale realms of the monarch below; in another world his spirit survives still. Death, if you be true, is but the passage to enduring life." All the instruction of the Druids was given orally—the only literary method of primitive peoples. Long before there were books or written records, the Druid bards recited in simple verse the deeds of the great men of past and present times, and perpetuated the memory of the fallen brave. It is to our rude Celtic forefathers that we owe the beginnings of Scottish education.

When the first Christian monks displaced the Druids

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as the religious guides of the people, they continued and vastly extended their educational work. Education, as implying ethical and literary influences, may be said to have taken its rise in Scotland in the work of St. Ninian at the beginning of the fifth century. The Venerable Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* tells how St. Ninian, a native of Strathclyde, "a holy man of the British nation, who had been regularly instructed in Rome in the faith," built his famous church at Whithorn on Wigtown Bay, and from it laboured to establish Christianity among the natives of Galloway and made long missionary journeys among the Picts farther north. His monastery at Whithorn became a centre of religious and secular education, and monasteries doing similar work and called by his name were founded in various parts of Scotland.

The great apostle of Scotland, however, was St. Columba. There are few more romantic or more important events in the history of Scotland than the landing of St. Columba and his little band of followers on Iona in 563. From that "unknown island among the western waves" a light was shed which dispelled the darkness of the surrounding paganism, and ushered in the dawn of learning in that northern land. It was in the monastery of Iona, more than anywhere else, that the history of education in Scotland took its rise, and its founder must always be given a foremost place in the long line of educators who have implanted and fostered the love of learning in the Scottish people.

St. Columba was a native of Ireland, and spent the first forty-two years of his life there. He was born on 7th December 521, in the village of Gartan, in the

wild mountains of Donegal. His father, Phelim MacFergus, was the chieftain of that district, also a member of the reigning family in Ireland, and related to the Kings of Dalriada (Argyll). Columba's mother, Eithne, belonged to the reigning house of Leinster, so the boy was of royal descent on both sides and, as an old Irish *Life* of the Saint¹ remarks, he might by right of birth have become King of Erin had he not chosen instead to become a soldier of Christ.

The most reliable source of information regarding St. Columba is his *Life* by Adamnan,² and, as the latter wrote only eighty years after the death of Columba, he was able to base the *Life* largely on the statements of those who knew the Saint. He tells us that the child was baptised by the name of Colum, Latinised as Columba, a dove. In the old manuscripts he is generally called Columcille, the suffix "cille" meaning "of the cell" or "of the church." According to an old Irish writer the name Columcille, "dove of the church," was given because he used to wander away from his playmates to the church to read the Psalms. So the neighbouring children used to say among themselves, "Has our little dove come to-day from his cell?"

The priest, Cruithnechan, who baptised Columba, became, according to the practice of the Celtic Church, his foster-father, and with this pious man the youth remained in the remote hamlet of Kilmacrenan till he

¹ Three manuscripts of this *Life of St. Columba* are extant, namely two in Irish in the Royal Irish Academy Library, and one in Gaelic in the Scottish National Library in Edinburgh.

² Adamnan was the eighth abbot of Iona after Columba. His work is valuable not only as a biography of the Saint by one who was almost a contemporary, but as a source of information regarding the social conditions of Scotland at that important period in its history.

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was old enough to be sent to one of the centres of learning for which Ireland was then famous. He was sent first to the monastic school of Moville, near the head of Strangford Lough in County Down. There he was taught by one of the famous scholars of the time, St. Finnian. At Moville, Columba was ordained a deacon of the Church. From there he proceeded southward to Leinster, that he might study poetry and music under an aged Christian bard called Gemman. The bards of Ireland at that time were not only poets and musicians, they were learned men, versed in the language, literature, and history of Ireland. No doubt it was under the influence of Gemman that Columba's gifts of poetic expression and his love of adventure and romance were developed.

The next step in his education was to enrol himself in the monastic seminary of Clonard on the Boyne, which is said to have been "the most famous of all the great schools of the sixth century." At the head of this seminary was another St. Finnian, one of the great Irish scholars who attracted students to Ireland from all over Europe. St. Columba was one of a group of twelve students at Clonard who, by their piety and outstanding personality, afterwards attained to great celebrity and influence in the Church, and were called the Twelve Apostles of Ireland.

At Clonard, Columba was ordained as a priest, and from thence he entered the monastery presided over by St. Mobhi at Glasnevin near Dublin. His stay there was short, as the monastery had to be closed on account of the ravages of the "yellow plague" which was decimating a large part of Europe. From Glasnevin, St. Columba returned to his ancestral home, and near it,

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at Derry, "the place of the oaks," on ground belonging to his own clan, he founded his first monastery. That was in 546, when Columba was still a young priest of twenty-five years of age. Years afterwards, when he had left Ireland for his self-imposed exile in Iona, his thoughts often returned with all the passion of the Celt to his native place, and as he lay dying in Iona he fondly murmured, "My heart is in Derry."

For the next fifteen years St. Columba seems to have devoted himself with extraordinary energy to teaching and preaching and founding churches and monasteries in various parts of Ireland. It is said that he founded thirty-seven monasteries in Ireland, and Adamnan calls him *multarum columna ecclesiarum*.

St. Columba was now about to enter upon the task with which his name is associated for all time as the apostle of Scotland. That he should at the age of forty-two leave the great work he was accomplishing in Ireland and migrate to the lonely ocean-swept island of Iona, at first sight seems strange. Adamnan gives two explanations. One is that Columba, for reasons that his biographer explains at some length, was implicated in causing the sanguinary battle of Cool-drevny (561) against the High King Diarmait. He, a man of God, had been guilty of shedding the blood of his fellow-men, and for this, it is said, the penance of perpetual exile from his native country was imposed upon him by a convention of the Irish clergy. There is good reason to believe that much of this story is legendary and dates from a later age. Far from being perpetually exiled, Columba is known to have re-visited Ireland on at least two occasions. The other explanation is that Columba's going to Iona was entirely voluntary,

and was due not so much to the action he had taken in connection with Cooldrevny and two other battles, as to a burning desire to spread the light of the Gospel in a benighted and neighbouring land. That this was the real motive seems to be confirmed by Adamnan's statement: "*de Scotia (i.e., Ireland)*¹ *ad Britanniam pro Christo peregrinari volens enavigavit,*" and that of the Venerable Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History* at a later date, "*ex quo ipse prædicaturus abiit.*"²

Columba embarked on one of those large boats, of strongly interlaced wicker-work covered with hide, which Celtic peoples used for navigation. He took with him, on the apostolic pattern, twelve disciples. As he sailed away northward we can picture him looking back wistfully on his native shore. He sought a land where his heart would not continually be torn by the sight of Ireland. He sailed on past Islay, and Jura, and Colonsay. He landed on the islet of Oronsay, but from the heights Ireland was still visible above the horizon. So he sailed onward till he came to the little island of Iona. Directing his boat to a pebbly creek, which to this day bears a Gaelic name meaning "Port of the Coracle," and ascending a neighbouring hill, he found at last nothing but sea on the southern horizon. A cairn on this hill has ever since been known as "Cairn-cul-ri-Erin," or "Cairn with the back turned on Erin." In other respects the island was highly

¹ *Scotia* and *Scotti* when they occur in works of the seventh to the twelfth century refer to Ireland, not to Scotland proper, which at that time was called Alba. At a later period the name *Scotia* ceased to apply to Ireland, but became identified with the country colonised by the Irish-Scots in Alba.

² p. xxxvi of Reeves' 1874 edition of *The Life of St. Columba* by Adamnan.

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suitable. It afforded the necessary seclusion for a monastic community, and at the same time offered easy communication for missionary work among the peoples on the mainland to the east. Near the foot of Dun-I (*i.e.*, Hill of I or Iona) there was a level tract sheltered from the Atlantic gales and admirably suited for a monastery and the other buildings required by the colony. Close at hand was fertile land which could be made to raise food for man and beast. Fish were plentiful in the surrounding seas and channels at all seasons. The rocks and islets around abounded in seals whose flesh would provide a favourite food, and whose oil would furnish light for the monastic buildings and domestic quarters.

So Columba decided to settle on this small island, some three and a half miles long and one and a half broad. The date of the landing so memorable in the annals of Scotland was the day of Pentecost, or eve of Whitsunday, 13th May 563. The first two years after the landing were spent in constructing the monastery and numerous other buildings, and in organising the community for its sacred and secular tasks. The site chosen by Columba for the monastery was about three hundred yards north of the present Cathedral. The principal buildings of the Columban monastery¹

¹ The buildings erected by Columba must not be confounded with the religious edifices that still exist, and were erected long after his time. The oldest of the existing buildings is the ruin known as St. Oran's Chapel, which is believed to be no older than the twelfth century. The present Cathedral was founded as a Benedictine abbey by Reginald, Lord of the Isles, early in the thirteenth century. The Benedictines drove the last Columban monks out of Iona in 1204, and proceeded to build cloisters and an abbey. Some parts of this abbey are embodied in the Cathedral church which belongs to the late Romanesque style, and was built apparently in the fifteenth century.

consisted of wood or wattles, and were floored with beaten earth, and thatched with heather. Of course they have long since disappeared, all except traces of the protective vallum or rampart of earth and stones which surrounded the whole settlement. The largest buildings inside this wall were the church and the refectory in which the brethren met for their common meal. Among other structures was a cluster of little huts for the monks, a *hospitium* or guest-house for those who might visit the colony, a bakery, a kiln for drying corn, and a mill on the banks of the only stream in the island large enough to drive a mill-wheel. Standing a little apart on rising ground was the Abbot's house, built of planks and more carefully finished than the rest. From this eminence Columba commanded a wide view of the whole settlement, and of the seas and islands around.

The twelve monks who had come from Ireland with Columba were soon joined by natives from the neighbouring islands and mainland, who were attracted by the fame of the Abbot. Every member on joining the monastery had to come under a vow to work only for the spread of the Gospel. Through the mist of these thirteen centuries we can picture the daily life of the little community. The laymen, who formed the majority, performed the manual and practical tasks necessary for the well-being of the community; and the religious brethren, or monks proper, went about the holy duties allotted to the class to which they belonged. The Seniors, or brethren of mature age, were engaged chiefly in reading and transcribing the Scriptures; the Working Brethren were occupied in the missionary and educational work of the monastery;

and the Juniors, or novices, in receiving instruction for the priesthood.

At the head of the monastery was the Abbot, Columba himself, who shared the labours of all sections of the community, and set an example of self-denial and devotion to religious duty. At any hour of the day or night he might summon the brethren to church by the sound of a bell, and address them from the altar. The dress of the monks was of the simplest order. There was a tunic of coarse undyed wool reaching to the heels, over this a cloak with hood and sleeves, and a white surplice worn only at festivals. When working or walking, the monks wore sandals of hide. All the brethren lived with the utmost austerity. They slept on boards covered with straw and wearing their ordinary clothes, for they might be called at any hour of the night to service in the church. The Abbot set the example of the ascetic life. An old Irish *Life*, already referred to, says of him that "he never wore linen or wool next his skin. . . . He slept not except on the bare earth, with no pillow but a stone."

Such was the monastic system established by Columba in Iona, and taken as a model by all the monasteries instituted by himself or his disciples throughout the country. After about two years spent in establishing the monastery and organising the inmates, Columba began to turn his attention to missionary and educational effort on the mainland. The racial and political divisions of the country at that time were peculiar. North Britain in Columba's time was called Alba, and was inhabited by Celtic tribes who were called by the Roman legions by the one name of Picts. About a century and a half before Columba's

landing, the Pictish population began to be driven northward by incursions from the west, south, and east. That from the west took place about the end of the fifth century, when a whole clan of Irish Gaels or Scots migrated from Dalriada in northern Ireland to Kintyre, and there founded a kingdom of the same name, corresponding to modern Argyllshire and the adjacent islands, including Iona. These Dalriad Scots were thus of the same race and the same faith as Columba. On the other side of Alba the Angles landed in their war vessels from Denmark, and founded the Anglian Kingdom of Northumbria, which extended along the east coast as far as the Forth. Lastly, the Britons driven westward by the invading Angles overflowed beyond the Solway and spread north-west along the valley of the Clyde, forming the Kingdom of Strathclyde, with its capital at the rock of Aldclyde, now called Dumbarton, *i.e.*, Dun (or Fort) of the Britons. North of the Forth and Clyde the country right up to the Orkney Islands was still called Pictland or Alba, of which the sovereign in Columba's time was Brude, who had his seat of government at Inverness. His subjects were divided by the Grampians into the Northern Picts and Southern Picts.

Of these four peoples inhabiting what we now call Scotland—the Scots, Angles, Britons, and Picts—all had come to some extent under the influence of Christianity before Columba's landing except the Angles, who were thorough-going pagan worshippers of Thor and Odin. The Dalriad Scots had brought their Christian beliefs with them from Ireland. The Britons of Strathclyde had come under the influence of their fellow-countryman, St. Ninian, early in the fifth

century. Another Briton of Strathclyde, St. Kentigern or Mungo, who was a contemporary of St. Columba, continued the work done by St. Ninian, and founded a monastery at Glasgow about the year 567. Both St. Ninian and St. Kentigern sent missionaries into parts of Pictland as far north as Aberdeenshire.

But no one played nearly so large a part as St. Columba in Christianising Scotland. It was among the Picts that he chiefly laboured. Adamnan tells how Columba, at the outset of his missionary work in Scotland, undertook a long and arduous mountainous journey to Inverness to visit the Pictish King, Brude MacMaelchon. Columba, who was himself of royal descent, seems to have stayed at the Pictish Court for some time, and to have made many converts among the people. The work spread widely, and many churches and monasteries were established throughout Pictland by himself or his disciples. The names of only a few of the places in which Columba founded churches in Scotland are given by Adamnan,¹ but the monasteries were so numerous that he speaks of Columba as *monasterium pater et fundator*. Recent historical and archæological researches² seem to show that even some of the present-day writers on Columba have erroneously attributed to him many monasteries and churches founded by St. Ninian and St. Kentigern and their successors. Whatever may be the truth of this contention, no one gainsays that by his extraordinary labours during thirty-four years at Iona, Columba did more than any other for the spread of Christianity in Scotland.

¹ Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. xxxviii.

² These are discussed in *The Historical Saint Columba*, by W. Douglas Simpson. (Milne & Hutchison, Aberdeen, 1927.)

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The advent of Columba marked a turning-point in early Scottish history, and largely influenced the subsequent course of events. The country, as we have seen, was divided into independent and warring kingships, there was a confusion of dialects, and the art of writing was unknown. Columba and his followers brought over a written language, and thus provided a medium for native Celtic literature. The union of the peoples of the various kingdoms in a common faith led, in course of time, to a united Scottish nation. The coming of Columba, moreover, brought Scotland into close relationship with Ireland, which was then regarded as the principal centre of learning and piety in Western Europe. In the Irish monasteries learning had its tranquil home. Students flocked to them from all quarters to be trained, not only for the service of the Church, but for the pursuit of letters. In them they could study the Scriptures from manuscripts in the vernacular and the classical tongues. In Ireland, more than anywhere else, every monastery was a school, and each school a workshop of transcription and of the various arts.

The monastic Church founded by Columba in Iona and throughout Scotland was like its mother Church in Ireland in these respects. The Columban monasteries were all educational seminaries as well as religious communities, and they made the only provision at that time for sacred and secular education. Youths were sent to them not only to be trained for monastic life, but to receive a general education. After Columba's death his disciples devoted themselves more and more to their work in education. The clergy in course of time became entirely Scottish, and thus to Columba we owe it that for centuries every child in Scotland who got any

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education at all received it from a Scottish monk. In these ways Columba laid the foundation of the national system of education in Scotland.

St. Columba's years were full of toil. Adamnan says of him that "he never could spend one hour without study, or prayer, or writing," for "he wished his usefulness to be commensurate with the moments of his life." Incessant toil told heavily on his health. In the early summer of 597 it was evident that the end was near. Touching narratives of his last days are given by his earliest biographers, Cummene and Adamnan, from the accounts of eye-witnesses. On Saturday, 8th June, in spite of great weakness, he went to vespers in the church. The remainder of the evening he spent in his room giving to his faithful servant, Diarmid, his last messages of comfort and encouragement to the brethren. When the bell sounded for vigils at midnight he rose hastily and arrived in the church before any of the others. He collapsed while kneeling in prayer before the altar. The monks hurried in with their lanterns, and on beholding their dying father, burst into lamentations. No longer able to speak, he raised his hand with Diarmid's help, and gave the assembled monks his last benediction. Then his spirit passed gently away. On his face there was, as his chief biographer quaintly says, an expression "of wonderful joy and gladness, no doubt seeing the Holy Angels coming to meet him."

So died this great apostle of Scotland in the early hours of Sunday, 9th June 597, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. Three days later, amid a wild storm, the monks committed the body of their beloved Abbot to the earth—"the wind screaming over the frail roof of the church, the great candles flickering in the salt

draught, heart-broken monks singing out the Psalms of the dead against the organ tones of heaven. . . . And in the midst the dead Saint, clad in the robes of his office, calm and peaceful, with his fierce, passionate life in the service of God left behind him for ever.”¹ For over two hundred years his body lay in Iona. To prevent the plunder of the tomb, with its shrine of gold and silver, by Scandinavian marauders, the body in its shrine was transferred to Ireland. It was taken backwards and forwards between Ireland and Iona several times, and owing to the continual danger of plunder it was finally deposited somewhere in County Down.

Through the mists of thirteen hundred years Columba stands forth as one of the great figures in Scottish history. He may truly be called the apostle of Scotland, for although he cannot be given, as has been shown, the sole credit for the evangelisation of the country of his adoption, he played the leading part in that great task. The influence of his life and teaching lessened the racial rivalry between the four principalities that shared the soil of Alba, and played no small part in making Scotland, in course of time, a united nation. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the influence the Columban monastic system exerted upon the education of the country. It provided the type of Christian culture which for centuries did so much to mould the intelligence and character of the Scottish people. St. Columba was the pioneer, if not the founder, of the national system of education, and Scotland has good reason to cherish his memory.

The form of Christianity brought by Columba from Ireland did not long remain without challenge. In the

¹ *Isle of Columcille*, by Shane Leslie, p. 120.

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very year of the Saint's death, St. Augustine and other emissaries of the Church of Rome landed in Kent, and carried their teaching northward till they came to regions in which Columban doctrines and observances had hitherto held sway. The conflict between the rival monastic Churches was prolonged, but considering the disparity of the contestants the result could not long be in doubt, and in course of time the Columban was merged into the Roman Church. The change was, on the whole, beneficial to education in Scotland. It brought the country into the main stream of European culture. Devoted as the monks of Iona had been to education, their successors were equally zealous, and they had all the learning and cultural resources of Rome at their command. The educational work of the Columban Church was continued and extended. Many new monasteries were founded, and they, like their predecessors, were centres of educational as well as religious influence. Schools, too, outside the monasteries and abbeys, were established, and during the five centuries in which the Church of Rome was the national Church, Scotland had as complete a system of primary and secondary education as probably any other country in Europe.¹ Equally full provision was made for higher education, and three of the Scottish Universities date from Roman Catholic times.

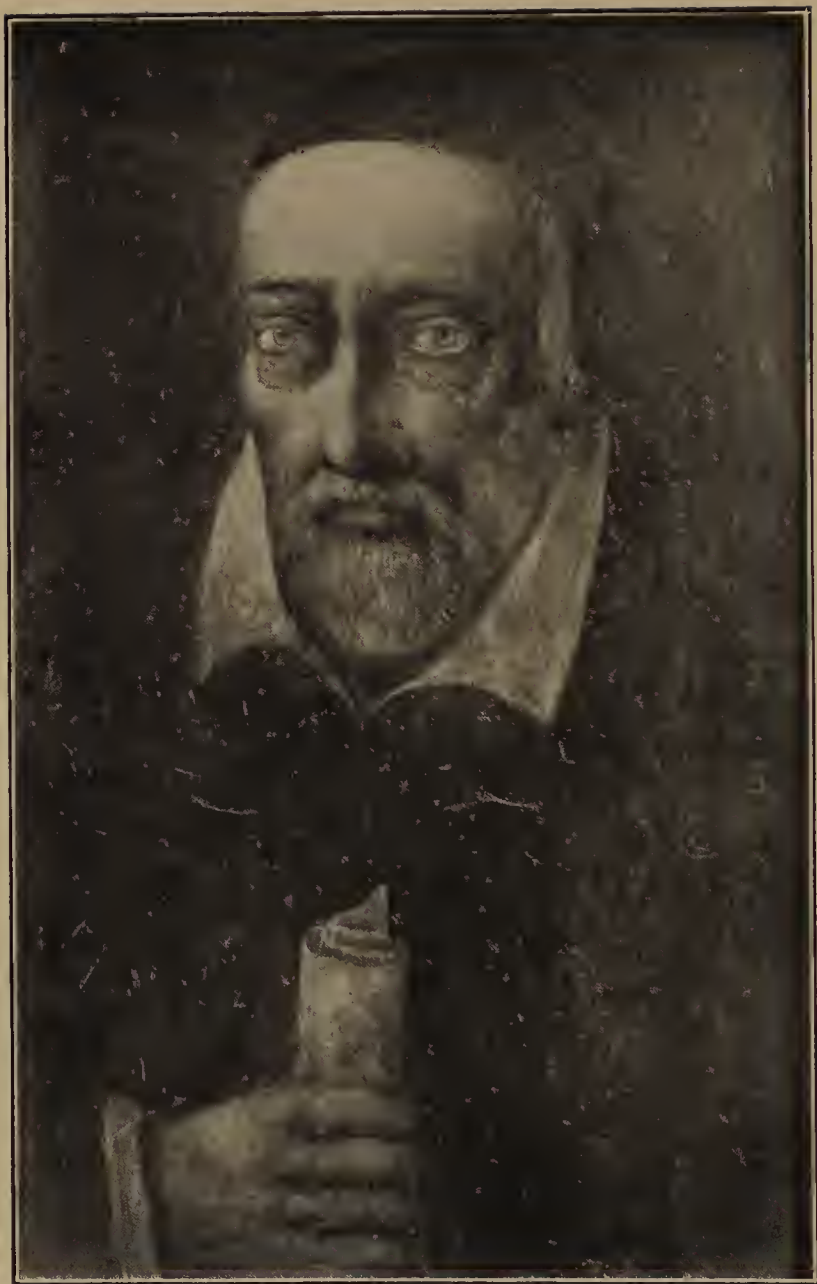
In the opening years of the sixteenth century the influence of the Roman Catholic Church on Scottish education began to wane. There were causes of this

¹ Hume Brown's *Life of Buchanan*, p. 12. The condition of education in Scotland in Catholic times is treated with considerable fullness in the present writer's *Rise and Progress of Scottish Education*, Chapter II. (Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh.)

within the Church which we need not stop to discuss. But besides these, Scotland, like other educated European countries, was passing from the medieval to the modern era. The transition was accompanied by two movements which profoundly influenced the spiritual life of the country, namely the Renaissance of letters and the Reformation of religion. The two were inseparably connected. The Renaissance brought about not merely a change from scholasticism to humanism, but it spread wherever it went a spirit of free inquiry and a demand for individual liberty. These ideas operating in the religious sphere led to the Protestant Reformation. That the Renaissance and the Reformation were beneficial to education cannot be doubted.

The greatest figures brought into prominence by the two movements in Scotland were George Buchanan, John Knox, and Andrew Melville, and we proceed to consider the influence exerted by each on the intellectual life and educational system of the country.

PART II
RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION
PERIOD



GEORGE BUCHANAN

From a Painting in the University of Edinburgh

CHAPTER TWO

GEORGE BUCHANAN

BY Scotsmen, George Buchanan has always been regarded as one of the greatest scholars in the annals of their country. Buchanan wrote and spoke Latin, then the international language of Europe, as fluently as the vernacular. His Latin prose brought back to life the style and thoughts of classical antiquity. He was the greatest Latin poet of his age in Europe. His erstwhile pupil, Montaigne, spoke of him as “ce grand poète écossais,” and Dr. Johnson said of him that “he was a great poetical genius,” but he caustically added that he was the only man of genius Scotland had ever produced. He has been described as a man of letters who used Latin instead of his mother tongue. His writings have done much to mould the thought and literature of his country. He must be given a high place among Scottish educators, not merely because of the influence exerted by his scholarship and of his life-long devotion to learning, but of the leading part he played in his day in all schemes for the advancement of national education and the improvement of the Universities of Scotland.

For information at first-hand regarding the life of George Buchanan we are dependent almost entirely on a biographical tract in Latin¹ written by him toward

¹ *Georgii Buchanani Vita*. It is reproduced in the Appendix to the *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of George Buchanan*, by David Irving (1817).

the end of his life at the request of friends. It extends only to some five octavo pages, and in them he gives a modest account of some of the more outstanding facts connected with his long and eventful life. He was born, he tells us, in the parish of Killearn in Stirlingshire, not far from Glasgow, about the beginning of February 1506. On his father's side he belonged to an old Highland family—the Buchanans of that ilk—and he was proud of his Celtic descent. The family, he remarks, was more famous for its antiquity than for its opulence. His mother, Agnes Heriot, was of equally honourable descent. She belonged to the family of the Heriots of Tabroun in East Lothian, to which George Heriot, the founder of the famous Hospital in Edinburgh, also belonged. His father had a grant from his family of the farm of Moss on the banks of the Blane, about two miles south-east of the village of Killearn. It was there that George Buchanan spent his earliest years, and we can picture the future poet and historian trudging daily to the distant parish school. He also seems to have been at a later stage a pupil in the Grammar School of Glasgow.¹

Buchanan's father died at an early age, and his mother had a sore struggle to rear the family of three daughters and five sons, of whom George was the third. As he was showing signs of exceptional intellectual powers, he was sent at the age of fourteen by an uncle, James

¹ Robert Baillie, appointed Principal of the University of Glasgow in 1660, in his *Letters and Journals*, Vol. III, p. 402 (Bannatyne Club), writes, "George Buchanan, born in Strathblane, seven miles from Glasgow, bred in our Grammar School, much conversing in our College, the chief instrument to purchase our rents from Queen Mary and King James, he left our library a parcel of good Greek books, noted with his hand."

Heriot, to the University of Paris—the goal at that time of every Scottish student's ambition. It was here that he began to cultivate his poetical gifts. As he tells us in his autobiographical sketch, he devoted himself to the writing of Latin verse, "partly by liking, partly by compulsion—that being the one task prescribed to younger students." His studies in Paris during the most impressionable period of his life decided his whole future career, and gave him the impulse to the life of a scholar and to the humanistic studies¹ in which he afterwards became pre-eminent. Here, too, he came into contact with the great intellectual and religious movements—the Renaissance and the Reformation—which at that time were seriously agitating European countries.

But one misfortune after another overtook the young student. Within two years of his arrival in Paris his uncle and benefactor died, and he was left without support in a foreign country. The hardships he endured brought on a severe illness. Shattered in health he returned to Scotland in 1522, and had to spend the best part of a year in recovering strength. Then in pursuit of new experiences and to see, he said, what war was like, he became a soldier. He joined the auxiliaries whom the Duke of Albany brought over from France, and he took part with them in an inroad into England that ended in disaster. Naturally of a weak constitution,

¹ It was at Paris University that George Buchanan gained his wonderful mastery of classical Latin. His proficiency in Greek seems to have been acquired by private study. He had a considerable knowledge of Gaelic, which was probably the spoken language of his native district. Ruddiman tells an interesting story of Buchanan. "Having met, when in France, with a woman who was said to be possessed with the devil, and who professed to be able to speak all languages, he accosted her in Gaelic. As neither she nor her familiar returned any answer, he said the devil was ignorant of that language."

the hardships of the campaign renewed his illness. During the rest of the winter, 1523-4, he was confined to bed, and indeed he was never afterwards strong.

In the spring of 1525, Buchanan, then in his nineteenth year, went to study at St. Mary's College of the University of St. Andrews, his eldest brother, Patrick, matriculating at the same time. Buchanan says that his purpose in going to St. Andrews was to study Logic under John Major, at that time one of the most famous teachers of philosophy in Europe. As the medieval Universities were all under the same supreme head—the Pope—they formed one common body for the pursuit of learning, and studies taken at one University were recognised for degree purposes at any of the others. As Buchanan had already been nearly two years at Paris University, he was able to complete his degree course in less than a year, and he graduated at St. Andrews as Bachelor of Arts in October 1525.¹

Having made up his mind to follow education as his life-work, he had to take the higher degree in Arts in order to qualify himself as a University "regent" or professor. So in the summer of 1526 he entered Scots College in Paris as a bursar, and entitled, therefore, to board and education free. At that time the endowments of Scots College were at a low ebb. The food and lodging provided were of the most wretched description, and Buchanan says that his life during the next two years as a bursar was "a hard struggle with untoward fortune." In October 1527 he graduated as

¹ In the list of Graduates the word 'Pauper' appears after Buchanan's name, as it does after the names of the majority of graduates of the year. The term simply indicates that the graduate concerned, on making a satisfactory statement of necessity, was relieved of paying the prescribed graduation fee.

Bachelor of Arts of Paris University, and as Master of Arts in March 1528.

In the following year he was appointed one of the regents or professors in the College of Sainte Barbe in Paris, one of the most famous Colleges in the country. In a Latin poem written at this period Buchanan gives a vivid picture of the hard life of a teacher in even the best of Colleges in those days. Apart from board and lodging he was dependent upon the small fees paid by the students. Called at 4 a.m., teachers and students began their work in cold bare class-rooms. "The pupils yawned and yawned; one contemplated a great hole in his boots, another mourned the loss of his stockings, a third was writing letters instead of taking notes; the teacher lost all patience, his formidable rod came into play, and the yawns gave place to groans and sobs."¹ After morning lessons came Mass, and then a scanty meal—often of unwholesome food. In the afternoon the monotonous routine was repeated, and was followed by an insufficient evening meal. After evening lessons the regent betook himself to his cheerless room, and continued his preparation and studies far into the night.

As might be supposed, Buchanan as a teacher was not content to follow the beaten track. A historian of Ste. Barbe tells us that Buchanan revolutionised the teaching of classics there, and that the reforms spread to other Colleges and to the Universities themselves. Until then the foundations of classical study had generally been laid by means of a *Rudiments of the Latin Language*, written by a Franciscan monk, Alexander of Villa-dei, in the thirteenth century. The "Rudiments" consisted of Latin verses in which each word was meant to

¹ *George Buchanan Quatercentenary Studies, Glasgow*, p. 7.

illustrate and recall some rule of syntax. Buchanan introduced methods more in harmony with the new learning then making its way into Continental countries, and he prepared and published a Latin translation of the best English grammar of the day—one written by Linacre, a noted English humanist.

After three years of such work, Buchanan resigned his post in Ste. Barbe, and became tutor and guardian to the young Earl of Cassillis,¹ who was at that time receiving his education in Paris. The engagement ended when the Earl reached his majority five years afterwards, and they returned together to Scotland in 1537. Probably his association with this young nobleman brought him under the notice of the Court, and he was appointed tutor by James V to one of his natural sons, Lord James Stuart, afterwards created Earl of Moray by his half-sister, Mary Queen of Scots. Encouraged, it is said, by the King, he wrote some brilliant Latin poems,² in which he mercilessly satirised the foibles of Franciscan priests and attacked the Roman Church in Scotland, which, he said, was suffering from organic decay. The attacks gave mortal offence, and not even the royal favour could protect him from the consequences, and

¹ This Earl of Cassillis, by his sagacity and uprightness, afterwards played a distinguished part in the turbulent times in which he lived. In 1558 he went on a special mission to the French Court, and while there he and three of his colleagues and several of their retinue died—it was supposed of poisoning. Buchanan lamented the untimely end of his distinguished pupil, and wrote of him as “a man excellent . . . in all virtuous pertaining to ane nobile man, and speciall in lufe of the commonwelth of his cuntre” (from the *Chameleon*).

² Such as *Somnium*, *Palinodia*, and *Franciscanus et Fratres*. The last mentioned was published in response to a request by James V for a satire on the priesthood “which should not only prick the skin, but probe the vitals.”

in the beginning of 1539 he and several others suspected of Lutheranism were thrown into prison in the Castle of St. Andrews. Five of them were committed to the flames, and Buchanan might have suffered a similar fate had he not escaped through the window of his cell and fled first to London and then to his beloved Paris, "the kind nurse," as he calls her, "of all true learning."

But even Paris, at this time, was for him no place of safety, for on his arrival there he found his old enemy, Cardinal Beaton, engaged on an embassy from Scotland to the French Court. Buchanan thought it wise, accordingly, to betake himself to Bordeaux, where his friend, André de Gouvéa, was Principal of a College famed at that time for the part it was playing in the spread of the new learning. Buchanan was offered and accepted the post of Professor of Latin in the institution, and there he spent three happy and fruitful years as a pioneer in demonstrating the great part classical studies, properly taught, can play in what we now call secondary education.¹ During his residence in Bordeaux he wrote several of his best Latin poems and dramas. One of his pupils here was Montaigne, who, in his essay *Of Presumption*, speaks of Buchanan as one of the foremost Latin poets of his time.

In 1542, or possibly 1543, Buchanan left Bordeaux for Paris, and was engaged for three or four years as a regent in a College there. Meanwhile the King of Portugal had founded the University of Coimbra, and, being desirous of introducing the latest methods of the New Learning, he invited André de Gouvéa to accept

¹ Secondary School systems were not developed in these days, and Colleges on the Continent, just like our early Scottish Universities, discharged the functions both of Secondary Schools and Universities.

the Principalship and to bring as his colleagues a band of suitable professors in philosophy and ancient literature. Gouvéa naturally chose Buchanan as one of these. The venture proved disastrous to Buchanan. He went to Coimbra in 1547, but before the end of the year, Gouvéa died. But even before this, the latter's uncle, a former head of the Ste. Barbe College, urged the Inquisition to attack Gouvéa and his company of professors.¹ Charges of heresy were adduced against them, and Buchanan and two Portuguese professors were committed for trial. The charge against Buchanan was that he was "badly disposed to the faith," that he "was of the sect of Luther," and had held up the usages of the Church to ridicule. Buchanan defended himself with great ability and courage, and after an inquiry lasting a year and a half he was sentenced to abjure his errors and to be imprisoned in a monastery in Lisbon. He occupied his leisure in prison in translating the Psalms into Latin verse.

After seven months Buchanan was released and left Portugal for England. That was in 1552. He did not remain long there, and we find him back in Paris in the beginning of 1553. For two years he acted as regent in the College of Boncourt, and then became tutor to the son of Comte de Brissac, one of the Marshals of France

¹ For centuries it was believed that this attack by the Inquisition on Buchanan was due to Romish influences, such as the enmity of Cardinal Beaton, the vengeance of the Franciscans for his attacks upon them, or the wish of the Society of Jesuits to get control of the University at Coimbra. Careful historians such as Prof. Hume Brown and David Irving take this view in their biographies of Buchanan. In 1906 the official minutes of the trial were published from the records of the Inquisition at Lisbon, and they show that the trial was conducted with fairness and that it originated in the manner stated above.

and at that time Governor of the French possessions in Italy. During the five years in which he remained in the service of de Brissac he was constantly travelling between Italy and France.

In 1560 or 1561 Buchanan returned to Scotland, which he had not visited for twenty-two years. He was then in his fifty-fifth year, and, with the exception of a short visit to France and another to England, he spent the remaining twenty-two years of his life in his native country. He soon attained a position of great influence at the Court, and in 1562 we find him acting as classical tutor to Queen Mary, then in her twentieth year. Every afternoon he was in the habit of reading Livy with her. She proved herself an able student, and so delighted was Buchanan with his royal pupil that he addressed some of his best Latin verses to her and dedicated to her the Latin translation of the Psalms already mentioned.¹ But when the death of Darnley took place, Buchanan's attitude towards Mary entirely changed, for, rightly or wrongly, he believed that she

¹ The opening lines of the dedication to Queen Mary run:—

“Nympha, Caledoniae quae nunc feliciter orae
Missi per innumeros sceptrā tueris avos;
Quae sortem antevenis meritis, virtutibus annos,
Sexum animis, morum nobilitate genus,
Accipe (sed facilis) cultu donata Latino
Carmina, fatidici nobile regis opus.”

Hume Brown, in his *Life of George Buchanan*, p. 184, gives the following English rendering:—

“O daughter of a hundred Kings,
That holdest 'neath thy happy sway
This ancient realm of Caledon;
Whose worth outstrips thy destiny;
Whose mind thy sex; whose grace thy peers;
Whose virtues leave behind thy fears—
Behold in Roman garb I bring
The work of Israel's prophet King.”

was implicated in the murder. He wrote a poem, the *Detectio*, in which he exposed remorselessly and with great power what he believed to be the proofs of her guilt.

With Erasmus and most of the Humanists of his time, Buchanan adopted the principles of the Renaissance, and did as much as anyone to advance the New Learning; but he had not as yet seriously studied the reformed religious doctrines that were agitating the Church throughout Central and Western Europe. The attitude he adopted was that of the candid friend of the old Church, and while he fearlessly criticised her faults he remained a faithful adherent of the Church of Rome. In the Inquisition at Coimbra he acknowledged his doubts regarding certain of its doctrines, and soon after his return to Scotland he decisively ranged himself on the side of the Reformers, and henceforth gave the aid of his powerful intellect to the Protestant Church. He was a man of sincere piety, but he was too deeply imbued with the ideals of humanism ever to become dominated by the one idea of religious reform, and he was too enlightened to sympathise with the bitter spirit of intolerance shown by some of the reformers. He played a prominent part as a member of the early General Assemblies of the Reformed Church, and was appointed by it one of the Commissioners to revise the Book of Discipline. Although a layman he had the honour in 1567 of being chosen Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church.

A year earlier Buchanan had been appointed Principal of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews University, by the Earl of Moray. He remained there for four years—from 1566 to 1570—and during that time his fame attracted an increasing number of students to the

College. He drew up an interesting scheme for the reform of St. Andrews University and its three constituent Colleges—St. Mary's, St. Leonard's, and St. Salvator's. He proposed that there should be a "College of Humanities" with a six years' course. Its work was to correspond largely to that of the present-day Secondary School. From the beginning all students were to be required to speak Latin and to write a Latin theme daily. They were to begin Greek in the fourth year, and to devote two years to the reading of Homer and Hesiod. From the College of Humanity the students were to pass to the "College of Philosophy" or University proper, and after two years devoted to the study of dialectics, logic, and moral philosophy, they might receive the degree of Bachelor. After a further year and a half devoted to metaphysics, mathematics, and natural philosophy they were to be eligible for their *licencia*, corresponding to the present M.A.¹

On the assassination of Regent the Earl of Moray at Linlithgow in 1570, Buchanan was selected by the Lords of the Privy Council to superintend the education of King James VI, then in his fourth year, and he continued nominally to hold this post of "maister to the King" till his death in 1582.² Buchanan always impressed on

¹ *Educational Opinion from the Renaissance*, by S. S. Laurie, p. 34.

² The course of education Buchanan put James VI through was a severe one. The mornings, after prayers, were devoted to the Greek authors; the forenoons, after breakfast, to the study of Cicero, Livy, Justin, or modern history; the afternoons to arithmetic, geography, logic, and rhetoric. James, in after years, attributed his mastery of Latin to Buchanan. "All the world knows," he once said, "that my master, George Buchanan, was a great master in that faculty. I follow his pronunciation both of the Latin and Greek, and am sorry that my people of England do not the like; for certainly their pronunciation utterly spoils the grace of these two learned languages."

James "that a King ought to be the most learned clerk in his dominions." While acting as royal preceptor he was appointed Lord Privy Seal, a post which entitled him to a seat in the Scottish Parliament. He seems to have continued in this office till 1579.

Buchanan was now reaching the end of his long and eventful career. During the last two years of his life his health was so precarious that he was able to do little more than put the finishing touches on two of his most important works—the *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* published in 1579 and the *Rerum Scotticarum Historia* published in 1582. With the latter the pen may be said to have literally dropped from his hand, and he died before the end of the year.

The *De Jure Regni* was written in perfect Latin, and takes the form of a dialogue between the author and a young nobleman, Thomas Maitland, the son of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington. Buchanan states the purpose of the work in the dedication of it to his former pupil, James VI: "I composed a dialogue on the prerogatives of the Scottish crown; in which I have endeavoured to explain from their very cradle, if I might adopt that expression, the reciprocal rights and privileges of kings and their subjects. . . . If you obey this monitor, you will insure tranquillity to yourself and your family, and will transmit your glory to the most remote posterity." But while the book professed to deal with the rights of the crown of Scotland, it really is a masterly statement of the general principles of government. He lays down the doctrine that kings exist solely by the will and for the good of the people, that subjects may resist misgovernment, and that in extreme cases even tyrannicide is lawful.

This was the first expression of the right of the people to resist autocratic kingship. Some seventy years afterwards Milton expressed exactly similar ideas in his *Defence of the People of England*. The dangerous doctrine naturally alarmed all believers in the Divine Right of Kings. Two years after its publication the *De Jure Regni* was condemned by the Scottish Parliament, and anyone possessing a copy was required under a penalty of £200 to surrender it within forty days. In the struggles between king and commonwealth in the following century the odium against the book revived, and in 1664 the Privy Council of Scotland issued a proclamation against circulating copies. In 1683 it was committed to the flames, along with other books of similar teaching, by the University of Oxford. There can be no question of the influence Buchanan's book has exerted on the development of political thought in Scotland and England. Hallam considered it one of the great sources of a free spirit in politics. Its doctrines were put into practice in the Revolution of 1688, and they have done much to mould the democratic tendencies of the Scottish people.¹

With regard to the *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, Buchanan in a letter to Sir Thomas Randolph said that his purpose in writing the story of Scotland was "to purge it of sum Inglis lyis and Scottis vanite," from which it had suffered so much distortion in the past.

¹ The book has continued to hold a high place in the opinion of those best able to judge. Such a competent authority as Sir James Macintosh speaks of the "incomparable tract, *De Jure Regni*, in which the principles of popular politics and the maxims of free government are delivered with a precision and enforced with an energy which no former age had equalled, and no succeeding has surpassed." (*Defence of the French Revolution*, p. 309.)

The History is divided into twenty Books. The first three are devoted to a learned disquisition on the geographical features of the country—its climate, ancient customs, and early inhabitants. The history proper begins in the fourth Book. In the earlier portion, unfortunately, he accepted too confidently the romantic tales and legendary history of Hector Boece and John of Fordun. When he comes to the history of his own times, which occupies by far the greater part of the twenty Books, his work is of real value. He had lived close to the centre of the nation's life, he had long been in intimate contact with the Court, and had taken a considerable share in shaping the events of which he speaks. He was thus able, with his great literary gifts and powers of keen observation, to give a truer account of the affairs of Scotland during the eventful century in which he lived than could have been compiled by later historians from existing documents. As was justly said by Prof. Hume Brown,¹ "Buchanan's narrative can never be neglected by anyone who wishes to place himself in contact with the mind and heart of Scotland during the sixteenth century." With his inborn love of liberty he takes every opportunity of maintaining the inalienable rights of the people against unjust governors. He wrote with severity of the faults of Queen Mary and others in high places. By so doing he incurred the severe displeasure of James, who lost no opportunity of impugning the trustworthiness of Buchanan's record of Scottish affairs. When Buchanan was dying he was visited by Andrew Melville and his nephew James. The latter in his famous *Diary* has left an account of the interview. When they expressed

¹ *Life of George Buchanan*, p. 328.

doubts regarding the wisdom of publishing statements unpalatable to the king, Buchanan said, "Tell me, have I told the truth?" On their saying that they thought he had, the dying historian said, "I will abide his feud, and all his kin's. Pray to God for me, and let Him direct all." So, says James Melville, "by the printing of his chronicle, that most learned, wise, and godly man ended his mortal life."

Buchanan died in Edinburgh on 28th September 1582 at the age of seventy-six, and his burial in Greyfriars Churchyard was attended, a contemporary tells us, by "a great company of the faithful." His grave is now marked by a simple tablet, and in another part of the churchyard a pedestal with a bust of life-size was placed by David Laing, the historian, in 1878. About the same time a descendant of Buchanan erected in the adjoining Church of Old Greyfriars a memorial window with Buchanan's portrait and the arms of the family. In 1788 an obelisk over one hundred feet high was erected to his memory at his native village of Killearn. The latest, and perhaps not the least fitting, memorial is the Buchanan Hostel, one of the beautiful residences for women students opened in Newington, Edinburgh, in 1916.

Scottish education owes a great debt to George Buchanan. By his reputation as a scholar, and his life-long devotion to learning, he gave a great impetus to higher education, and has exercised a powerful influence on the studious youth of Scotland. He taught them to believe that a mark of the highest culture was a thorough knowledge of Latin and Greek classics, and the ability to write and speak pure Latin. He had a deep interest in the cause of education, and at the outset chose the unattractive career of a regent and tutor

rather than the life of a poet and man of letters for which he had such unique qualifications. He had a natural faculty for interesting and understanding youth. As one¹ who, as a young man, had known Buchanan said, "He was a man of such flexibility of mind, that with boys he became a boy; he had the power and the will to adapt himself to every period of life, and to do so in such a way as never to forfeit the respect due to himself." According to his former pupil, Montaigne, Buchanan had the intention at one time of writing a book on education.² Pre-occupation with other writings probably prevented him from carrying out his intention, but had he done so the work would in all probability have had a great influence on the subsequent course of school and University education.

Buchanan's wide experience of teaching at Paris, Bordeaux, and elsewhere, and the innovations he introduced, marked him out as one fitted above all his contemporaries to place Scotland abreast of the most progressive countries in the new educational methods and studies. He was consulted regarding many of the proposals for the advancement of Scottish education in his day. He had a leading share in several of the schemes for the improvement of the three Universities. The reforms of St. Andrews University, proposed by him while Principal of St. Leonard's College, have already been referred to. But even prior to that he was a member, along with the Earl of Moray, John Winram, and John Erskine of Dun, of a Commission appointed by the Scottish Parliament in 1563 to inquire

¹ Alexander Yule. See David Irving's *Memoirs of George Buchanan*, p. 239.

² Irving's *Memoirs of George Buchanan*, p. 38.

into the revenues of the different Colleges of the University of St. Andrews, and to give their opinion and advice with respect to the kind of instruction which might appear to them most advantageous. No Report seems to have been made by the Commission, but there is in the Scottish National Library, Edinburgh, a manuscript copy of a scheme¹ by Buchanan for the re-organisation of the three constituent Colleges, somewhat on the lines recommended in the First Book of Discipline. The chief reforms proposed by Buchanan have already been outlined on page 31; briefly they are that instead of the three Colleges of the University overlapping, one of them should be constituted a College of Humanities, another a College of Philosophy, and the third a College of Divinity.

Proposals for the reform of the Scottish Universities were revived some fifteen years later, and in 1578 the Scottish Parliament appointed a Commission to inquire into the state of all "the Universities and Colleges in this realm; to reform such things as savoured of superstition, idolatry, and popery; to displace unqualified and unfit persons from the discharge of their offices in the said Universities; and to establish such qualified and worthy persons therein as they should find good and sufficient for the education of youth."² Again no reforms ensued. In the following year another Commission, of which Buchanan was the most prominent member, was appointed to report on the University of St. Andrews, in which matters had been getting gradually worse. The Privy Council instructed the

¹ A copy of the scheme is given in Appendix III of Irving's *Memoirs of George Buchanan*.

² Irving's *Memoirs of George Buchanan*, p. 179.

heads of that University to proceed to Edinburgh on a certain date, and to submit their charters to the new Commissioners. The latter drew up proposals for a complete remodelling, or rather reconstruction, of the University. The scheme, which was ratified by an Act of Parliament passed on 11th November 1579,¹ entered into great detail, and introduced among other reforms the innovation of each professor teaching only one subject, as had been done by Andrew Melville five years before in Glasgow University. The Act of 1579 was afterwards repealed because of the determined opposition of the authorities of the University to the drastic reforms.

Buchanan took a keen interest in Glasgow University as well as St. Andrews, and took every opportunity of assisting it. In February 1578 we find the Principal, Andrew Melville, and the regents of Glasgow University expressing their gratitude for "the singular favour that ane honourable man, Maister George Buchanan, teachar of our Soverain Lord in gude lettres, hes borne and shawen at all times to our College."² The reference seems to be to a grant made in 1563 by Queen Mary to Glasgow University of part of the lands and revenues that had belonged to the Order of the Preaching Friars of Glasgow, the purpose of the grant being to found bursaries for the maintenance of five poor scholars while they were receiving their University education. Three years later the Queen conveyed to the magistrates and citizens of Glasgow all the monastic lands in the city then at her disposal, and nearly the whole of these lands were afterwards presented by the

¹ Irving, p. 180; also *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, Vol. III, p. 178. The scheme has been said to be mainly the handiwork of Buchanan.

² *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, Vol. I, p. 123.

city to the University. These benefactions by Mary were made while Buchanan was a regular attender at Court, and was officiating as classical tutor to the young queen, and hence there is good reason to believe that Buchanan was instrumental in obtaining the grants. As further evidence of his good-will towards the University, he presented to it a valuable gift of Latin and Greek books which are still carefully preserved.¹

From what has been said above it will be sufficiently apparent what manner of man Buchanan was, and what the scope of his genius. He was a man of consummate erudition. Joseph Scaliger said he was far and away the greatest Latin poet in Europe. He wrote Latin with the purity of diction of an ancient Roman. It has been said of him that he excelled not in one but in all departments of literature—in philosophical discussion, in historical narration, in lyric and didactic poetry, in elegy and satire. He lived in thought and aspiration far ahead of his times. By his writings and his work as a school and University reformer, he has laid succeeding generations of his countrymen under a deep debt of gratitude. In all the wanderings and vicissitudes of his eventful life he remained a true Scot, exemplifying the *præservidum ingenium*² of his race, and all their fearless and unquenchable spirit of liberty and patriotism. Take him all in all, we must regard George Buchanan as one of the great figures in the history of Scottish education.

¹ A list of the books is given in Irving's *Memoirs of George Buchanan*, Appendix VIII, p. 393. See also *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, Vol. III, p. 407.

² Hume Brown in his *Life of George Buchanan*, p. 3, points out that it is to Buchanan we owe the famous phrase—*præservidum ingenium Scotorum*—to characterise the national temper of his countrymen. It occurs in his *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*.

CHAPTER THREE

JOHN KNOX

THE chief representative of the religious side of the great upheaval in Scotland of the sixteenth century was John Knox. There is much uncertainty regarding the early years of Knox. Although he was a voluminous letter writer, and though his *History of the Reformation in Scotland* is to a large extent autobiographical, yet he tells us practically nothing about his boyhood and early manhood. There is doubt even regarding the year of his birth. Until recent years 1505 was the generally accepted date, but researches into contemporary documents seem now to show that he was born in 1513 or 1514.¹ There is difficulty even as to the precise place of

¹ Archbishop Spottiswoode is the authority for the date 1505. He gives it in his *History of the Church*, written about half a century after Knox's death. Confirmation seemed to be given to this date by the discovery made by his biographer, Dr. Thomas M'Crie, that an entry in the records of Glasgow University shows that a "Joannes Knox" entered that seat of learning in October 1522, when John Major, under whom, according to Beza, Knox studied, was a professor there. But the University register shows that Knox was a common name, and that in the sixteenth century several students of that surname were called John.

Theodore Beza of Geneva, who corresponded with Knox, states in his *Icones Virorum Illustrium* that the Reformer died in 1572, after having attained the age of fifty-seven. This would put his birth in 1515. To Professor Hume Brown we owe the discovery in the Ducal Library at Gotha of a letter (Brown's *Life of Knox*, Vol. I, p. 322) written by Peter Young to Beza, who was inquiring after an authentic portrait of the Reformer for reproduction in the *Icones*. In this letter Young states that Knox died in his fifty-ninth year, which would make

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his birth. We know that it was either in Giffordgate, Haddington, or in the adjoining district of Gifford.¹

His father was William Knox, his mother's maiden name Sinclair, and in times of danger afterwards in writing home to his friends from the Continent he often signed himself "John Sinclair." Knox tells in a single sentence in his *History of the Reformation* practically all that is authentically known of his family connections. Addressing the notorious Earl of Bothwell, the husband of Queen Mary, he says, "My grandfather and grandsire (that is, maternal grandfather) and father have served under your Lordship's predecessors, and some of them have died under their standards"—probably at Flodden in 1513, where an Earl of Bothwell and most of his followers were slain.

Apart from this, we know nothing definite regarding Knox's forbears, and we are left to conjecture to which parent he owed most the wonderful courage, tenacity, and power of vivid and humorous description

the date of his birth 1513 or 1514. Peter Young was George Buchanan's assistant in the education of James VI, and it seems unlikely that he would make the statement regarding the age of Knox without consulting Buchanan, who knew Knox well. The date given by Young is supported by the researches of Dr. Hay Fleming, who believes that the 1505 date is due to an error in transcription. If the later date is accepted, then it must have been in St. Andrews University that Knox studied under Major, who was transferred from Glasgow to St. Andrews University in 1523. There is, indeed, no proof that Knox ever studied in Glasgow University, and he never shows any special interest in it, whereas St. Andrews, next to Edinburgh, was his favourite abode. It has been pointed out by some writers that Knox's name does not appear in the records of matriculation of St. Andrews University. But that proves nothing, as there are considerable *lacunae* in the lists of matriculated students in St. Andrews at that period.

¹ Beza describes Knox as "Johannes Cnoxus Scotus Giffordiensis" and "Jean Cnox de Gifford en Ecosse."

he displayed in such an exceptional degree in his troubled career. His father seems to have belonged to the peasant class, and with the frugality that was such a marked feature of that class in Scotland, he gave his family a good education, probably at the well-known Grammar School of Haddington. His teachers would be priests from the adjoining religious establishments, and probably most of the pupils would be destined for service in the Church. Here, in addition to religious education and elementary subjects, they would receive instruction in such branches as Latin, Logic, Science, and Arithmetic, but above all in Latin. As was then the practice in the more important schools, probably the pupils were required to talk in Latin instead of the mother tongue. At any rate we have evidence in Knox's writings that he could write Latin with considerable facility, although not with anything like the classical purity of his contemporary, Buchanan.

On leaving school, Knox was sent to the University, probably of St. Andrews, to receive a training like other students of his time in such branches as Latin, Aristotelian Philosophy, Theology, and Canon and Civil Law. There Knox studied under a fellow-townsmen, John Mair, better known by his Latin name, Major, at that time Regent or Professor of Philosophy and Divinity in the University. Major had a great reputation in academic circles at home and abroad, and was the last of the great scholastics in Scotland, although Buchanan described him as teaching "sophistry rather than dialectics." Major held advanced views for his time in politics and religion. In his lectures and writings he protested freely against the tyranny of kings and

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nobles,¹ and, until he took alarm at the revolt of Luther—for he never left the Roman communion—he taught the necessity of ecclesiastical freedom from the supremacy of the Pope. We may fairly surmise that Knox was influenced by this teaching, and may have had his future career as a Reformer to some extent affected by it. But what he learned chiefly from Major was an accomplishment in which the latter had a European reputation, namely, the art of logical disputation, and Knox's sermons and writings give abundant evidence of his skill and delight in the play of dialectics.

It is not known how long Knox remained at the University, or whether he actually took the degree of Master of Arts. There is indirect evidence on the latter point. Holders of the M.A. degree in these days usually had the courtesy title of "Sir" prefixed to their names, and there is a document in existence, dated 8th March 1541, in which the name of "Schir John Knox" occurs among the witnesses to a deed relating to the Burgh of Haddington.² For a year or two after that we lose trace of him till he re-appears in his native district of East Lothian as a Roman Catholic Priest in minor orders. He seems to have held this post as late as 1543, for a deed³ in his own handwriting has been preserved in which he signs himself "John Knox, minister of the Sacred Altar, of the Diocese of St. Andrews, notary by Papal authority."

¹ "From the people Kings have their institution, and on them (the people) royal power depends. . . . The nation is above the King, who exists for the people's good, not they for his." (Major's *History of Greater Britain*, Book IV, 17.)

² David Laing's *Works of John Knox*, Vol. I, p. xiv.

³ It is reproduced in facsimile on p. 3 of C. J. Guthrie's *John Knox*.

In 1544 we find Knox acting as “maister” or tutor to the sons of Douglas of Longniddry, and of Cockburn of Ormiston—families, be it noted, favourably disposed to the new religious doctrines rapidly spreading throughout Scotland. Through these families he was brought into contact with the Reformer, George Wishart, who had recently returned from Germany and England strongly imbued with a desire to spread the doctrines of the Lutheran Reformation in Scotland. This association with Wishart was destined to have a great influence on Knox, for while he had hitherto hesitated to accept the new doctrines, he thenceforth gave himself to the cause of religious reform, and devoted himself with a zeal never surpassed to what he believed to be the only true conception of Church doctrine. With all the self-devotion and impetuosity of his nature, he became not only Wishart’s disciple, but protector, and in those dangerous times he tells of accompanying Wishart as a guard with a two-handed sword. When Wishart was carried off to St. Andrews and imprisoned in the castle by the orders of Cardinal Beaton, Knox wished at the peril of his life to resist the seizure, but Wishart begged him to desist, saying, “Nay, return to your bairns (*i.e.*, pupils) and God bless you. One is sufficient for a sacrifice”—referring to the fate almost certainly in store for himself. Wishart was burned in St. Andrews shortly afterwards—on 1st March 1546.

In May of the same year Cardinal Beaton was murdered. The nobles who had taken part in the deed shut themselves up in the castle of St. Andrews for protection. Knox, who for about a year had been wandering from place to place to escape the persecution

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of Beaton, joined the band of Reformers in the castle for the sake of the safety of his pupils and himself. Here his zeal for the new doctrines and his wonderful gifts as a preacher attracted the attention of his fellow-reformers in the castle, and they urged him to join publicly the ministry of the reformed Church. At first he declined, saying that he did not feel he had a call for this high work, and "he would not run where God had not called him."

Among those in the castle was one John Brough, who a few years later died in the flames at Smithfield. In an attempt to overcome Knox's hesitation about his call to the ministry, Brough preached a sermon to his fellow-prisoners on the election of ministers, and at the close he turned dramatically to Knox and, according to the latter's *History of the Reformation*, said, "Brother, you shall not be offended although I speak to you that which I have in charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this: In the name of God and of His son Jesus Christ . . . I charge you that you refuse not His holy vocation, but as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, and the edification of your brethren . . . that you take the public office and charge of preaching even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that He shall multiply His graces unto you." Overcome by this solemn call, Knox tried ineffectually to address the audience, burst into tears, and hurried from the assembly. He withdrew to his room, and remained there in "heaviness" for days, and then he came forth prepared to accept the divine call to his arduous life-work. He preached both in the parish church and in the castle until its surrender.

From this solemn resolve that day in St. Andrews,

Knox never wavered, and in respect of zeal, courage, power of leadership, and practical statesmanship, he proved himself one of the greatest Scotsmen of all time. As Carlyle says in his own emphatic way in *Heroes and Hero Worship*, "Scotch Literature and Thought, Scotch Industry: James Watt, David Hume, Walter Scott, Robert Burns: I find Knox and the Reformation acting in the heart's core of every one of these persons and phenomena; I find that without the Reformation they would not have been."

These events took place in May 1547, and soon afterwards France came to the aid of the Catholics in Scotland. A French fleet appeared in St. Andrews Bay in June and laid siege to the castle, which surrendered on 30th July. In violation of the terms of submission,¹ the chief persons in the castle were sent as prisoners on board the French galleys. Knox was one of the unfortunates, and he remained in irons at the oars and under the lash on the galley *Notre Dame* for the next nineteen months. The terrible hardships and exposure he suffered impaired his health for the rest of his life. But he never lost hope. When the *Notre Dame* returned to Scotland for the siege of Haddington in June 1548, and was within sight of the castle of St. Andrews, Knox predicted that he would yet be spared to preach in the place where God had called him to the ministry.

In February of the following year Knox obtained his liberty by the special intercession on his behalf of Edward VI of England. As it was still unsafe for him to return to Scotland, he preached with great success in various parts of England, including Berwick—where

¹ For the terms, see Hume Brown's *Life of John Knox*, Vol. I, p. 80.

he met his future wife—Newcastle, London, and other places. He received an offer of the Bishopric of Rochester from Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State to King Edward, but he declined the preferment. On the death of Edward in 1553, Knox had again to seek refuge on the Continent, first at Dieppe, then at Geneva—where he met the Reformers, John Calvin and probably Theodore Beza—and afterwards at Frankfurt.

In September 1555 he returned to Scotland, and spent most of the winter preaching secretly in Edinburgh. In the early months of the following year we find him preaching openly in Ayr and other parts of the country. For this he was summoned to appear before a Convention of the Catholic clergy at Edinburgh. Knox appealed in a letter to the Queen Regent. Having received meanwhile an urgent request to return to Geneva, he went there in July 1556. He was tried in his absence by the Convention, condemned to the flames as a heretic, and burnt in effigy. With the exception of a short period of preaching in Frankfurt, he remained in Geneva until he finally returned to Scotland in May 1559. While still in exile, he sought to mould the course of the Reformation in Scotland by sending home a series of hortatory letters and pamphlets including the famous *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment (i.e., regimen, government) of Women*. This pamphlet was a whole-hearted and extravagant attack against admitting women to the government of the nation. It gave great offence in high places, both in England and Scotland, and he must have doubted the wisdom of writing it when soon afterwards he appealed in vain to Queen Elizabeth for help in advancing the Reformation in Scotland. She never

forgave him, and thenceforth all correspondence between her and the Reformer had to take place through the Secretary of State, Sir William Cecil.

On his arrival in Scotland in 1559, Knox at once became the life and soul of the Reforming party. While he was preaching in Perth in June, the populace, or what he called the "rascal multitude," got out of hand, and burned and destroyed three monasteries in the town. Unfortunately the frenzy for the destruction of religious houses spread, and soon the great Cathedral at St. Andrews, and monasteries at Scone, Cambuskenneth, Dunfermline, Paisley, and other places, were partially destroyed. The Queen Regent, in her efforts to stem the Reformation, summoned French troops to her aid. They occupied Leith and attempted to seize the capital. By the efforts of Knox an arrangement was made between England and the Protestant nobles, or Lords of the Congregation as they were now called, and Leith was blockaded by an English fleet, while English troops hastened to the aid of the Reformers. Threatened by sea and land, the French were glad to sign a treaty at Leith early in 1560, by which they agreed to withdraw from Scotland, and leave the Reformers masters of the situation.

The Scottish Parliament met on 1st August 1560, and requested the Protestant ministers to draw up a *Confession of Faith* embodying the reformed doctrines. Knox and five other ministers drafted the document. Within four days it was presented to Parliament, and passed on 17th August. A week later three Acts were passed: the first abolished the Pope's authority and jurisdiction in Scotland; the second rescinded all old statutes which enforced Catholic tenets; the third

inflicted heavy penalties, with death on a third conviction, on anyone who might celebrate Mass or even be present at it. By these several measures Scotland in August 1560 became definitely a Protestant country.

The creed or system of doctrine having been successfully settled, the next thing necessary was to draft a constitution for the reformed Church. The same Parliament accordingly gave instructions on 20th August 1560 that this should be done, their words being "to draw up in a volume the Policy or Discipline of the Kirk, as well as they had done the doctrine." Before the scheme could be presented Parliament dissolved. It had been seen, however, for some time that a Church constitution would be required, and accordingly Knox and the same five ministers had been requested by the Lords of the Congregation as early as 29th April 1560 to prepare a scheme, and the draft was presented to the Council of the Congregation on the 20th of the following month.¹ The document drawn up by Knox and the others was the remarkable Book of Discipline (*i.e.*, Policy), called afterwards the First Book of Discipline to distinguish it from a later document on Church Discipline or Policy prepared by Andrew Melville (p. 74). The First Book of Discipline was never passed by the Scottish Parliament, which indeed had dissolved soon after giving instructions for the preparation of the scheme. It was, however, laid before the Privy Council in January 1561. There it met with a good deal of opposition, especially on account of its proposals to appropriate the revenues of the displaced Church for the support of the proposed new religious and educational institutions. While it

¹ Laing's *Works of John Knox*, Vol. II, pp. 128, 183, 257.

was not formally passed by the Privy Council, it was signed by the majority (33) of the members, who, thinking the scheme "good and conform to God's Word in all points," pledged themselves to "set the same forward at the utmost of our powers."

The plan of work followed by the authors in preparing the Book of Discipline was to decide the subjects that should be included, allocate these among the members, and then discuss and amend the drafts. While the Book was thus a joint-production, we learn from various sources that Knox, more than any other, left his individual stamp upon it. Only one of the nine chapters of the Book of Discipline is devoted to education. The chapter is entitled "Schools and Universities." It points out first the necessity of education: "Seeing that God hath determined that His Church here on earth shall be taught not by angels but by men . . . it is necessary that your Honours be most careful for the virtuous education and godly upbringing of the youth of the realm." The authors then sketch a complete graduated system of educational institutions:

1. The system of the Roman Catholic Church, by which there was a rural school in connection with each parish church in sparsely populated country districts, was to be continued. The school was to be conducted by the minister or reader of the parish, and the children were to be taught the rudiments, especially the Catechism. Two years, from six to eight, were to be devoted to this.

2. Each church in larger villages and smaller towns was to maintain, at its own expense, a grammar school taught by a schoolmaster able to give instruction in

Grammar, Latin, and the Catechism. Four years, from eight to twelve, were to be devoted to these. Attendance was to be compulsory alike for rich and poor, for it "must be carefully provided that no father, of what estate or condition he be, use his children for his own phantasy, especially in their youth-head; but all must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue."¹

Quarterly examinations were to be held to decide which of the pupils should be selected, and compelled to proceed to the next stage—the secondary school—and which were to be required to leave school at the end of the elementary stage and engage in some useful occupation. "For this purpose most discreet, learned, and grave men be appointed to visit all schools for the trial of their (*i.e.*, the pupils') exercise, profit, and continuance; to wit the ministers and elders, with the most learned men in every town, shall every quarter take examination as to how the youths have profited. . . . In every case the children must either proceed to further knowledge, or else they must be sent to some handicraft, or some other profitable exercise. Provided always they have first a Christian knowledge." It was thus the opinion of the authors of the Book of Discipline that religious instruction should be given in all schools.

3. In every "notable" town, especially the ten

¹ The most authoritative text of the First Book of Discipline is given in David Laing's edition of *The Works of Knox*, Vol. II, pp. 183-258. In that edition Knox's spelling is given, but that varied at different periods, being influenced by his prolonged visits to England and the Continent, so that it has been said that he wrote "knapped suddron." In the passages quoted above a modernised rendering of Laing's text is given.

towns which were then the seats of Protestant bishops,¹ there should be a "college" or high school with a four years' course, for pupils from twelve to sixteen years of age, in Latin, Greek, Logic, and Rhetoric. Here, as has been stated, attendance was to be compulsory, and pupils who were poor and not able to be maintained by themselves or by their friends, especially such as came from "landward" (*i.e.*, rural) districts, were to be supported at the public expense. The money for the schools was to be obtained from the yearly tithes or teinds.²

4. At the close of the secondary course scholars were to be tested, and the most promising boys sent to "the great Schollis callit Universiteis." There they were to study for eight years—from sixteen to twenty-four years of age—namely, three years in Arts and five years of professional study in preparation for the Church or Law or Medicine. No one was to be admitted to the Arts course unless he brought a certificate from the master of his school and the minister of his parish as to his "learning, docility (*i.e.*, ability), age, and parentage."

In Knox's time the existing Universities—St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen—were seriously handicapped by three defects—lack of funds, poor teaching, and imperfect organisation. To remedy the first of these, the Book of Discipline proposed that the Universities should be endowed "with temporal lands,

¹ Dumfries, Glasgow, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Brechin, Old Aberdeen, Argyll, Fortrose, Kirkwall.

² Laing's *Works of John Knox*, Vol. II, p. 222.

with rents and revenues of the temporalities of the bishoprics, and of the collegiate churches.”

With regard to the teaching in the Universities, it was proposed that there should be a separate teacher in each subject, instead of the “regenting” system in which a teacher took the class of students who entered the University at the same time through all the subjects of their entire three years’ course in Arts.

As regards organisation—each Scottish University at that time was composed of either two or three separate Colleges, without central supervision or any understanding as to their relative spheres, and consequently there was needless competition, overlapping, and waste of resources. Besides, there was even overlapping with the function of the Secondary Schools. It was proposed in the Book of Discipline that this unsatisfactory state of affairs be remedied by the Universities being brought into organic connection with the schools, and by the scope and function of each constituent College being clearly defined. To take St. Andrews University as an example: In it the three Colleges were teaching exactly the same branches, but the Reformers proposed that the first College should be devoted to Arts and Medicine, the second to Law, and the third to Divinity. All the students were to take a three years’ course in Arts in the first College—taking in the first session, Dialectics; in the second, Mathematics, including Arithmetic, Geometry, Cosmography, and Astronomy; in the third, Natural Philosophy. If the student passed the prescribed examinations at the end of his course, he would become a graduate in Philosophy, and then proceed to Medicine, Law, or Divinity, and take the degree appropriate to the faculty.

MAKERS OF SCOTTISH EDUCATION

From this brief account it will be seen that the Book of Discipline proposed that in Scotland there should be a complete educational highway from the Elementary School to the University; that there should be one system of education for the son of the laird and the son of the labourer; that education should not be the privilege of a class, but the common need and right of all; and that there should be free scope and assistance, where necessary, for the upward movement of ability in every rank of society. Had the proposals of the Book of Discipline been adopted, Scotland would have forestalled its educational progress by centuries. The greatest Education Acts in Scottish history, such as those of 1616, 1633, 1696, 1872, 1908, and 1918, are but expressions of some of the ideals of the Reformers, leaving others still to be fulfilled.

The chapter on education in the Book of Discipline closes with a noble appeal to the Privy Council of Scotland to put wisdom and learning within the reach of posterity, which would be beyond any earthly treasures they were able to provide for them. But the Book never became law because of the lack of the necessary resources. For years before the Reformation some of the revenues of the Church were being alienated by the ecclesiastical authorities themselves, and, when the upheaval came, many of the needy nobles were anxious to get a share of the spoils. So the magnificent scheme of educational reform proved abortive, but its fulfilment has never ceased to be an ideal of the Scottish people, and its proposals have done much to mould the Scottish intellect and character.

While the exciting events of the Reformation were

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being enacted, Knox was asked by the Protestant nobles to write a true account of what was taking place in order to check false reports which were being spread at home and abroad, and were misrepresenting the motives and hindering the progress of the movement. Knox acceded to the request and began to write what he first called a "Confession," and it was only as the work proceeded that he gave it the more comprehensive title of *History of the Reformation in Scotland*. In the outset he stated the motive and main lines of the book: "In this our Confession we shall faithfully declare what moved us to put our hands to the reformation of religion; to the end that as well our enemies and our brethren in all realms may understand how falsely we are accused of tumult and rebellion; as also that our brethren, natural Scotsmen, of whatever religion they be, may have occasion to examine themselves if they may with safe conscience oppose themselves to us who seek nothing but Jesus Christ's Evangel to be preached; His Holy Sacraments to be truly ministered; superstition, tyranny, and idolatry to be suppressed; and finally our native country to remain free from the bondage of strangers."¹

Knox's original intention was to confine the narrative to events between 1558 and the arrival of Queen Mary in Scotland in 1561, and this forms Books II and III of the *History*. On second thoughts he wrote Book I, which traces the events from 1494 onwards, leading up to the Reformation. At a later period, probably about 1566, he wrote Book IV, dealing with the events after the Reformation, and this is the part that is written with

¹ Preface to Book III of the *History*, which was the Book first written.

most power, and contains the fullest revelation of the author's mind and character in all their strength and weakness. Book V is, in comparison with the others, feeble and monotonous in style, and it appears to have been written after his death from notes left by him.

One cannot but wonder at the marvellous energy and diligence of Knox, who found time, amid all his ecclesiastical duties and all the exciting national events in which he played a leading part, to compose what is acknowledged to be one of the greatest Histories written from original material. He certainly was seeking no personal advantage, for he was unwilling that the work should be published in his lifetime.¹ He was at once a maker and a writer of history. A considerable part of the *History* was written day by day as the events he records were taking place, and he continued to work at it till the very close of his life. He set an example to future historians by giving in full the original documents on which he based his statements, so that readers might be able to form their own judgment on the points at issue. But for him, many of these documents would not have been preserved.

When Knox is dealing with matters within his own knowledge, or where he is quoting from original documents, his narrative of this momentous epoch in Scottish history is of the utmost value, and is largely the source from which succeeding historians of the period have derived their materials. When he speaks of things he did not himself experience, his testimony is naturally not so reliable. But even then, as Carlyle said, "events are described with something of Homeric vigour and simplicity. This man, you can discern, has

¹ Laing's *Works of John Knox*, Vol. VI, p. 558.

seized the essential elements of the phenomenon, and done a right portrait of it; a man with an actually seeing eye.”¹ As an unconscious piece of self-revelation the *History* is worthy to be compared with the works of Pepys or Gibbon. Knox’s indomitable courage, unconquerable determination, honesty of purpose, and profound belief in his mission are all there; so are his unconcealed bias, narrowness of outlook, coarseness of fibre, and readiness to think the worst of his opponents. From the vividness of its descriptions, its sardonic humour and trenchant diction, its power in setting forth all the causes—economic, political, and religious—that led to a great national movement, Knox’s *History of the Reformation* holds a unique place in English literature.

The great events of the year 1560 have been stated at some length, and the predominant part Knox played in them. His troubles in that year were increased by the death of his wife, Marjorie Bowes, after a short married life of four or five years. The marriage was a happy one, and she was a loyal companion and helpmeet to him in his arduous struggles. There were two sons of the marriage, who were brought up by relatives in England. Both became Fellows of St. John’s College, Cambridge, and took Orders in the Church of England, but one died at the age of twenty-three and the other at thirty-three. In 1564 Knox married Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree and remotely related to the royal house. She was some thirty-three years his junior. There were three daughters by the marriage, the youngest of whom seems to have inherited much of her

¹ Carlyle’s *Essay on Portraits of John Knox*.

father's character. She married John Welsh, minister of Ayr, who was imprisoned and exiled for his opposition to the Episcopal policy of James VI. The king told her that her husband might return if he would submit to the authority of the bishops. She replied, holding up her apron, "Please, your Majesty, I would rather kep (catch) his head there."

The passing of the Acts of 1560 establishing the reformed religion did not terminate the conflict, and the remainder of Knox's life was spent in ceaseless struggle. Adherents of the old Church had not given up the hope of a counter-reformation; and their hopes were strengthened when Queen Mary, a widow of eighteen, returned from France in August 1561 to assume the government of Scotland. No two personalities more dissimilar than Mary and Knox ever faced each other in history. The one had been brought up in the gayest Court in Europe, and had been educated to believe in the Divine Right of Kings, and to regard it as a religious duty to restore the Roman Catholic faith in Scotland. The other, the strongest force of his age, was imbued with an almost fanatical belief in his mission to build up a reformed and independent Church. A clash between the two was inevitable, and it was not long delayed.

Soon after Mary's return, Mass was celebrated in Holyrood. Knox publicly protested. Lord James Stuart, half-brother of the queen and himself a Protestant, tried to bring about concord, and arranged an interview between Mary and Knox in Holyrood. Although Knox did not generally get the best of the encounter, he faithfully describes in Book IV of his *History* the course of the interview and of

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several that followed it. Mary began by taxing him with *The First Blast*. He said that if Scotland was satisfied with a female ruler he did not object. She then came to the real question. "Ye have taught the people to receive another religion than princes allow; and how can that doctrine be of God, seeing that God commands subjects to obey their princes?" Knox fell back on first principles, "Madam, as right religion took neither origin nor authority from worldly princes, but from the Eternal God alone, are not subjects bound to frame their religion according to the appetites of their princes." "Think ye," said she, "that subjects, having power, may resist their princes?" "If their princes exceed their bounds, Madam, it is no doubt that they may be resisted, even by power." At this argument the queen was aghast. Recovering herself, she said, "Well then, I perceive that my subjects shall obey you and not me." "God forbid," answered he, "that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or yet to set subjects at liberty to do what pleaseth them. But my travel is that both princes and subjects obey God who commands queens to be nurses unto His people."

No wonder that the English ambassador in France wrote to Queen Elizabeth at this time, "The Queen of Scotland is thoroughly persuaded that the most dangerous man in all her realm of Scotland is Knox."¹ Even on his own showing, Knox failed to understand Mary's difficult position, or to allow for her conscientious convictions. The quarrel between the two reached its crisis when, in December 1563, Mary summoned Knox before the Privy Council on a charge of high treason, for "convocation of the lieges" to

¹ Tytler's *History of Scotland*, Vol. VI, p. 467.

Edinburgh to protect and assist two Reformers who were being prosecuted by the Crown. Knox boldly faced the Council, "The truth I speak, impugn it whoso list." Much to the discomfiture of the queen, he was acquitted by the vote of almost all the members of the Council, including even opponents in religion, because of "the simple truth which appeared in his defence." As far as is certainly known, this was the last occasion on which the queen and reformer met.

We need not dwell on the conspicuous part played by Knox while the crowded events in the tragic career of Queen Mary were unfolding themselves before the eyes of her sorely-tried country—her marriage to her cousin, Lord Darnley; the murder of Rizzio¹ by Darnley and others; the murder of Darnley within a year; Mary's marriage to Bothwell three months afterwards; and her abdication in July 1567 when only twenty-four years of age. Knox preached at Stirling the coronation sermon of James VI from the appropriate text, "I was crowned young," for James was only a year old.

Mary's half-brother, James Stuart, now Earl of Moray (see p. 26), was appointed Regent, and by his instructions Parliament was called together in the middle of December. Knox preached the opening sermon, and, in the proceedings that followed, the Statutes of 1560, establishing the Protestant religion, were ratified. All that Knox had laboured for during twenty years seemed now to be secured, and he wrote to his fellow-reformer, John Willock, "Our enemies,

¹ Knox had no knowledge beforehand of the murder of Rizzio, but shortly after it he wrote in his *History of the Reformation* "that vile knave Davie was justly punished for abusing the commonwealth, and for other villainy which we list not to express."

praised be God, are dashed; religion established . . . and above all, we have a godly magistrate, whom God, of His eternal and heavenly providence, hath reserved to this age, to put in execution whatsoever He by His law commandeth.”¹ The reference is to the Earl of Moray.

Knox was beginning to feel the weight of years, and the future of the reformed religion seemed to depend mainly now on the life of Moray. But in January 1570 the Regent fell by the gun of an assassin in Linlithgow. This was one of the sorest trials in the life of Knox; and when he preached the funeral sermon of the “Good Regent” in St. Giles Church, Calderwood tells us that “Master Knox moved three thousand persons to shed tears for a good and godly governor.”²

The national calamity preyed on the mind and shattered the already enfeebled constitution of Knox. There were warnings that the fight, so far as he was concerned, was nearing its end. In October 1570 he had a stroke of paralysis or apoplexy. He recovered so far as to be able to resume part of his wonted labours during the anxious and troublous winter and spring. There was open war now between Edinburgh Castle held by Mary’s friends and the town held by the supporters of her young son. To escape the tumults in his weak health, Knox, “sore against his will,” and almost thrust out by his friends, left Edinburgh for a time. Crossing in May by boat from Leith to Kirkcaldy, he travelled by easy stages to St. Andrews. Despite his weakness he preached nearly every Sunday in the parish church. James Melville tells us that Knox was so feeble

¹ Calderwood’s *History of the Church of Scotland*, Vol. II, p. 399.

² *Ibid.*, p. 525.

that he had to be carried into the pulpit. At the beginning of the service he could only lean forward, but before he had finished his sermon he was so active and vigorous that "he was like to ding that pulpit in blads, and fly out of it."¹ In September the news reached him of the massacre of Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Eve in Paris and other parts of France. Summoning up his remaining strength, Knox from the pulpit denounced the foul crime, and bade the French ambassador "tell his master, that murderer King of France, that God's vengeance shall not depart from him nor from his house unless repentance prevent God's judgments." On the ambassador complaining to the Privy Council, their reply was that they could not even stop Knox denouncing themselves when he thought the occasion required.

In the summer of 1572, the hostilities between the castle and the capital being ended, a deputation of citizens was sent to St. Andrews to beg Knox to return to Edinburgh, "that once again his voice might be heard among them." He returned in August. One of his last public acts was to conduct the service in St. Giles on 9th November on the induction of his successor, James Lawson, Vice-Principal of the University of Aberdeen. According to the account of his faithful friend, Bannatyne,² he praised God who had given to the congregation one in his own room, and prayed that any gifts which he (Knox) had possessed might be bestowed on his successor a thousandfold. So feeble was he that

¹ James Melville's *Diary*, p. 33.

² Richard Bannatyne was the secretary of Knox, and his *Memoriales* is the chief source of information regarding the last days of Knox, which are described by him in detail.

JOHN KNOX

his voice was heard by only a few. Leaning on his staff, and followed by almost his entire congregation, he made his way to his house at the Netherbow Port, and never left it again.

On 24th November 1572 John Knox closed his laborious career. Two days afterwards he was buried in the churchyard which lay to the south of St. Giles Church. A vast concourse of people, preceded by a procession of the nobility, accompanied his remains to their last resting-place. Standing beside the open grave, the Regent Morton delivered the famous eulogy, "Here lies one who never flattered nor feared any flesh," and who now "had ended his days in peace and honour." No monument was erected to mark the place of his interment, but a flat stone with the simple inscription I. K. 1572 marks the spot in the kirkyard, now the paved court between St. Giles and Parliament House, which, according to tradition, is the resting-place of this great Scot.

Judged by the scale and importance of his work, Knox must be assigned a place among the great figures of history. As Carlyle has said of him, there is "a still higher title than 'Man of Genius' that will belong to Knox: that of heaven-inspired seer and heroic leader of men." In the momentous struggle that took place in Scotland in his day, the burden of leadership rested on Knox. The upheaval of 1560 was more than the substitution of one form of Christian religion for another. It was a national revolution, the expression of a new social life and of a broader and freer nationality. Knox's influence survives in the educational institutions of his countrymen, and perhaps still more in their character.

MAKERS OF SCOTTISH EDUCATION

Knox had a passion for great practical affairs, and as a statesman he struck instinctively at the centre of complex problems, leaving it often to others to reconcile his actions with political theories. To him more than any other, Scotland owes her spiritual, political, and educational individuality. With religious reform it was essential in his opinion to combine educational reform. Hence, even as early as 1556, we find him advocating that there should be schools and colleges throughout the country to instruct youth in the "tongues and human sciences," and, in 1559, that schools should be established in all cities and chief towns.¹ For the part he played in the preparation and advocacy of the magnificent educational scheme of the First Book of Discipline, his country owes him an abiding debt. It was this scheme that made the present educational conditions possible. Shortly before his death, Knox, looking into the future, wrote, "What I have been to my country, albeit this unthankful age will not know, yet the ages to come will be compelled to bear witness to the truth." The verdict of posterity has abundantly justified his belief.

¹ Laing's *Works of John Knox*, Vol. V, p. 520.



ANDREW MELVILLE

From an Engraving reproduced in "Witnesses for the Truth in the Church of Scotland," published W. P. Kennedy, Edinburgh, 1843

CHAPTER FOUR

ANDREW MELVILLE

WITH the exception of George Buchanan, Andrew Melville was perhaps the most accomplished scholar of his time. In the realm of higher education he holds a unique position, for he was the head in succession of two of the oldest Scottish Universities. He was the real continuator of the work of Knox in the struggle for religious liberty, and no one took a more prominent part in the contest between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy that followed the Reformation. He left his mark on Scottish history, and the influence he exerted is felt to this day in the educational and religious life of his country.

Andrew Melville was the son of a small Angus laird, and was born at the family estate of Baldovy, near Montrose, on 1st August 1545. He was the youngest of nine sons. When he was two years old his father was killed in the battle of Pinkie. His mother died a few months after, and he was brought up by his eldest brother, Richard, who acted in every respect as father to him.¹ He early showed signs of great ability and

¹ For facts regarding the life of Andrew Melville we are chiefly dependent upon the famous *Diary* of his nephew, James Melville, son of the above Richard. Andrew always spoke with the warmest gratitude of his foster parents, Richard and his wife. James Melville remarked, "I have often heard Andrew say that he, being a bairn very sickly, was most lovingly and tenderly treated by her (*i.e.*, the mother of James), embracing and kissing him oftentimes with these words: 'God give me another lad like thee, and syne take me to His rest.'" (*Diary*, p. 4.)

fondness of learning, and his brother resolved to give him every advantage that education could afford. He was sent first to the Grammar School of Montrose. Here, amongst other things, he got a good grounding in Latin. Greek was not taught at that time in the schools of Scotland, but a neighbouring nobleman, John Erskine of Dun, brought over from France one, Pierre de Marsilliers, who settled in Montrose and taught Greek in the Grammar School. The subject spread very slowly into other grammar schools,¹ although it never attained the same hold as the study of Latin. Melville studied Greek and French under Marsilliers for two years,² and on proceeding to the University of St. Andrews at the age of fourteen he surprised his professors by being the only one in the University who was able to read the writings of Aristotle, then the only text-book used, in the original Greek text instead of a Latin translation. His unusual attainments attracted the attention of his teachers, and the Rector of the University used to invite Melville to his room and question him on the subjects of his study. Delighted with his replies the Rector would sometimes say, "It is ill to wit what God may make of thee yet."³

Having acquired all the learning that his country could supply, he proceeded at the age of nineteen to the University of Paris, then the most famous seat of learning in Europe. There he applied himself with great zest to the study of Hebrew and Chaldee, and also attended the lectures of Turnebus, one of the greatest Greek scholars. Melville is said to have excited great

¹ See *Rise and Progress of Scottish Education*, p. 85.

² M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, Vol. I, p. 111.

³ James Melville's *Diary*, p. 28.

admiration among his teachers and fellow-students by the ease and fluency with which he spoke in Greek.¹ One teacher who greatly influenced him was Petrus Ramus, one of the most original teachers of logic and philosophy of that time. Melville afterwards introduced his plan of teaching and his philosophical method into the Universities of Scotland.

After two years at Paris, Melville proceeded in 1566 to the University of Poitiers to study Civil Law. His reputation as a scholar had preceded him, and though only twenty-one years of age he was made a regent in the College of St. Marceon, while at the same time continuing his studies. After a residence of three years, civil war between Catholics and Protestants compelled him to quit France and go to Geneva for the prosecution of his theological studies. He carried with him letters of introduction to Theodore Beza, the Professor of Divinity and protagonist of Calvinism. Through the influence of Beza, and the appearance he made on being examined in classics, he was appointed to the Chair of Humanity in the Academy of Geneva. He was able at the same time to continue his study of Oriental languages, and to acquire in particular a knowledge of Syriac.

The little Swiss republican city was at that time the place of refuge of Protestants from nearly every country in Europe. The number was greatly increased by the massacre of Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Eve in 1572. Amongst the refugees were some of the most learned men of the day in almost every department of knowledge. Among them was Joseph Scaliger, the first scholar of the age. Melville mingled with these

¹ James Melville's *Diary*, p. 33.

men, and many of them became his personal friends. Intimate converse with them stimulated his interest in the political problems of the time, and enlarged and confirmed his ideas on civil and religious liberty. How deeply his mind was impressed by his experiences at this period was shown by the zeal with which he ever afterwards championed the freedom of his countrymen, and by the determined resistance he offered to every exercise of arbitrary power. Amidst the labours and anxieties of his later years he used to recall with tenderness the happy years he spent in Geneva in the peaceful pursuit of learning, and in the society of the scholars he met there. In several of his poems he paid affectionate tribute to the friends he first met in Geneva.

In 1574, Melville returned to Scotland after an absence of ten years. He was well known throughout Europe for his erudition, and his return gave a fresh impulse to learning in his native land. On the recommendation of Buchanan he was offered an appointment as instructor in the household of the Regent, the Earl of Morton. He respectfully declined the post. Residence at Court did not appeal to one with his studious habits. His chief object in returning to Scotland was to assist in the development of its higher learning, and for this purpose nothing would have been so congenial to him as a post as professor in one of the Universities.

The opportunity was soon to come, for after three months spent with his eldest brother at Baldov, he was pressed to undertake the Principalship of St. Andrews University or the corresponding post in Glasgow. At that time the latter University had practically collapsed for reasons which we need not

stop to discuss.¹ Its students had been dispersed, and accordingly Melville selected it in preference to the more flourishing University. There was a new zeal for learning spreading throughout Scotland under the influence of the Renaissance and the Reformation, and he saw that by taking advantage of it there was an opportunity of accomplishing in Glasgow a great work for his country. Accordingly he journeyed thither in October 1574, accompanied by his nephew, James Melville, afterwards the famous diarist, who became to his uncle like Boswell to Dr. Johnson. On his way from Baldovv to Glasgow, Melville stayed two days at Stirling, where he met James VI, then in his ninth year, and had a conference with Buchanan, who at that time was occupying his leisure hours in writing his *History of Scotland*. We can imagine how Melville would discuss with his more experienced friend the educational plans he intended to follow in the new and arduous undertaking upon which he was entering.

The reforms Melville introduced into Glasgow University during the six years of his Principalship mark an epoch in the development of University education in Scotland. His first object was to remodel the teaching in the University by abolishing the "regenting" system, under which all the students entering the University in the same session were conducted by one regent or teacher through all their studies till they graduated at the end of their course. Under this arrangement such a thing as scholarship worthy of a University was impossible. So Melville set himself to displace it by having a separate teacher for each of the chief subjects of the curriculum. The

¹ M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. I, p. 69.

difficulty was to get a beginning made, for he had not only to discharge the duties of the Principalship, but to carry on the whole of the work of the University with the help of only one assistant, and even he had been trained in the regenting system. Melville allowed the latter to carry on in the old way, and also devolved on him the management of the revenues of the University, while he set himself to train a number of young men who might become teachers in the University under the new system. He selected a group of young men who had been thoroughly grounded in Latin, and took them through a regular six years' course, including Logic, Rhetoric, Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, Geography, Universal History, Hebrew, and Divinity. As an indication of his encyclopædic scholarship and his boundless energy, it may be said that Melville undertook the teaching of all the subjects except the first three, which were taught by his nephew.

Another reform he introduced was the enlargement of the curriculum, and for this purpose he instituted four new Chairs in Languages, Science, Philosophy, and Divinity, the last of which he reserved for himself. Also, Latin and Greek, instead of being dropped at a certain stage as had previously been the custom, were continued through the whole academic course. This was an advantage to the student, because in those days the chief literary and scientific works were only to be found in these languages.

The fame of the great work Melville was accomplishing spread through the kingdom, and students flocked to his classes from all parts of Scotland and even beyond it, so that the class-rooms, which had so

recently been empty, could not contain those who sought admission. Such was the success that his nephew said, "I dare say there was no place in Europe comparable to Glasgow for good letters during these years . . . and for all kinds of languages, arts, and sciences."¹ Melville's aim, both here and later at St Andrews, was to promote the real study of letters and to supersede the effete methods of scholasticism.

By the influence of Melville with Regent Morton, James VI granted, in July 1577, a new Royal Charter to the University, abolishing the old constitution and sanctioning all the reforms which Melville had already introduced as to the extension of the curriculum and the division of the subjects among separate professors. The new foundation—commonly called the *Nova Erectio*—established by the Charter contained other important provisions, into the details of which we need not enter.

The advantages of the specialisation of teaching in the University were soon recognised, and Melville's ideas of University reform were not confined to Glasgow. In 1575, he conferred with Alexander Arbuthnot, Principal of Aberdeen, with the result that a new constitution on similar lines was framed for that University. In 1578 Melville was appointed by the Scottish Parliament one of a Commission to visit St. Andrews University, and the reforms introduced there by Act of Parliament in 1579 were mainly his.² As a reformer of the Scottish Universities, Melville's work was of the highest value to the country. It gave rise to a new spirit in University education, and created

¹ James Melville's *Diary*, p. 39.

² M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. I, p. 246.

a revival in higher learning. Under his influence the Scottish Universities began to acquire a European reputation, and students from abroad were for the first time attracted to them.

In order to carry out the extensive reforms proposed in St. Andrews, the oldest and at the time the most important University, the king's advisers were of opinion that Melville should be transferred from Glasgow to the eastern University. Melville himself was much averse to leaving Glasgow, where his work was meeting with so much success, and where the full results of his reforms had not yet been reaped. Moreover, he had a great affection for Glasgow University, which he used to call his "eldest bairn." A letter, however, from the king to the General Assembly requesting their concurrence in the transference made acceptance by Melville inevitable. He went to St. Andrews in December 1580, and was formally installed as Principal of St. Mary's, or the New College as it was then called. His duties included the teaching not only of theology, but, according to one of his students, "the knowledge and practice of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Rabbinical languages." He was assisted by his nephew, James Melville, who was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages. His teaching attracted many students to his classes, but the drastic reforms introduced by the Act of 1579 were causing difficulty. The Act required that, instead of the work of the three constituent Colleges overlapping, the teaching in each College should be confined to subjects in a certain faculty. It introduced also into St. Andrews the principle of the *Nova Erectio* of each professor teaching only one subject. The innovations were

causing Melville trouble. As M'Crie says, "To introduce reform into old corporations has always been found a difficult task . . . some of the teachers were offended at losing their places, others at the reduction of their salaries; the new regulations respecting the mode of teaching were alarming the indolence of some, and revolting to the prejudices of others. All of them were disposed, however unreasonably, to impute their sufferings to Melville."¹ The advanced nature, too, of some of his lectures on theology increased the clamour against him. But before he had been long at St. Andrews the beneficial effects on the work of the University were generally recognised.

Great as has been Melville's influence on the higher educational system of Scotland, it has been even greater in moulding the ecclesiastical system of the country. His work in Scotland began, as we have seen, two years after the death of Knox, and he became the successor of the Reformer as leader of the Church. Protestantism having been accepted by the majority of the nation, it had next to be determined what should be the constitution of the reformed Church. The First Book of Discipline had drafted a scheme of Church government, but, as we saw, it was drawn up hastily, and the scheme was only provisional. The completion of the difficult task was left to Melville. At Geneva he had become thoroughly imbued with a hatred of ecclesiastical tyranny or autocracy in any shape or form in Church government. His main object was to make religion a matter of popular concern, and to secure it against all encroachments of outside authority.

In 1575, a year after his return to Scotland from

¹ *Life of Melville*, Vol. I, p. 254.

Geneva, Melville was appointed one of a Committee of the General Assembly to draft a definite constitution for the Church. The result of their labours was the Book of Policy, commonly called the Second Book of Discipline, which was adopted by the General Assembly in 1577 and ratified by Parliament in 1592. It has decided the polity of the Church of Scotland to this day. It removed every vestige of prelacy or superintendentship. It made bishop or minister the titles of one and the same office, whose function was to preach the Word and administer the Sacraments. It placed the control of the congregation in spiritual affairs and the ordination of the minister in the hands of the presbyters or elders, and the management of the property of the congregation in the hands of the deacons, who were not to be members of the church courts. It laid down the principles for a gradation of church courts—Kirk-session for the individual congregation, Presbytery for representatives of the congregations in a district, Synod for representatives of the presbyteries in a province, and General Assembly for representatives of the whole Church, although these courts are not specifically named in the Book. In spiritual matters the church courts were assigned a jurisdiction independent of the civil courts and the decisions of the General Assembly in matters ecclesiastical were not to be subject to review by any authority whatever.

Such in outline is Presbyterianism, which was established by Melville and his fellow-churchmen, and which has continued to be the form of Church government prevalent in Scotland to this day. The history of Scotland for a century after the date of the Second

Book of Discipline was largely a struggle between the people and the Crown as to the form of Church government—whether it was to be Presbyterian or Episcopal. The country as a whole was opposed to Episcopacy, because it withdrew the control of Church affairs entirely from the people and placed it in the hands of the bishop of the diocese. It was not the triumph of one form of Church government over another that was the main contention, but the liberty of the people to govern themselves in spiritual affairs. Presbyterianism, in their minds, stood for freedom, and the uncompromising opposition and sometimes persecution by James VI and his successors only strengthened their determination to resist every attempt of the Crown to force a system of Episcopacy upon the Scottish Church.

In 1584, Acts were passed, at the instigation of James and some of the nobles, called the Black Acts,¹ which made it treason to speak ill of bishops, declared the king supreme head over the Church, and made all conventions illegal unless sanctioned by the king. Melville had preached a sermon in St. Andrews in the previous summer denouncing the doctrine of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown, and maintaining the independence of the Church. For this he was now summoned before the Privy Council in Edinburgh, and charged with treason. He claimed to be tried in the first instance by the Ecclesiastical Court at St. Andrews, where the alleged offence had been committed. He drew up a form of protest and lodged it with the Council. This enraged the king and Regent Arran, whereupon Melville said, "That ye may see your weakness and rashness in taking upon ye what ye

¹ *Acts of the Scottish Parliament*, Vol. III, pp. 293, 296, 303.

neither can nor ought to do" (unclasping his Hebrew Bible from his girdle and throwing it upon the table), "*these* are my instructions, see if any of you can judge of them, or shew that I have passed my injunctions. . . . With all earnestness, zeal, and gravity, I stand for the cause of Jesus Christ and his Church." He was found guilty of behaving irreverently before the Council, was ordered to be imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, and to be further punished in person and goods at His Majesty's pleasure. As it was doubtful whether he might come out of prison alive again, some of his friends reminded him of the proverb "Loose and living." Taking the hint, he left Edinburgh before his gaolers could seize him, and escaped across the border to Berwick.

On a swing of the pendulum taking place in favour of the Presbyterian party, Melville returned to Scotland in November 1585, after an absence of twenty months, and resumed his lectures in St. Andrews. For several years he was able to carry on his educational tasks in peace, and in 1590 he was appointed Rector, or supreme head, of the University. But unfortunate days for Melville and his cause returned. James never lost his belief that the security of his throne depended on the establishment of Episcopacy as the national Church, hence his favourite aphorism "No bishop, no king." Accordingly, in 1599, he published his *Basilicon Doron*, expressing his determination to make the Church Episcopal, and he found a means of depriving Melville of the Rectorship of the University with a view to putting a bishop in his place.¹

On his accession to the throne of England in 1603,

¹ M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. II, p. 116.

James entered anew on his endeavours to assimilate the Scottish Church to that of England. As a step towards this, he re-asserted his claim to power over the General Assembly, and denied its right to meet except when summoned by him. The Church, led by Melville, protested, reminding the king and Parliament that they were not lords over the Church, but nursing fathers to her; and that, instead of assuming a power to mould her government according to their pleasure, it was their duty to preserve and maintain that which had been given her by her Divine Head.¹ Melville and others appeared before the Parliament which met in Perth in August 1606 to demand anew the right of free assembly. This was the last appearance he was permitted to make in this cause in Scotland. In the month of May, Melville and his nephew and six other clergymen had received letters from the king commanding them, "all excuses set aside," to repair to London before 15th September, "that His Majesty might treat with them of such things as would tend to settle the peace of the Church." So after the meeting with Parliament in Perth they set forth to London. The king summoned them to a conference at Hampton Court, at which the chief dignitaries of the Church and State were present. Melville and the others were asked to tell why they had allowed an Assembly of the Church to meet at Aberdeen without having received permission. They spoke so effectively that those present advised the king to pacify the dissensions by granting a free General Assembly.

Having won their cause, Melville and the others naturally expected to be allowed to return to Scotland,

¹ M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Vol. II, p. 213.

but they were detained on the excuse of further conferences. A few days later they were required by the king to attend divine service in the Royal Chapel. Melville was not favourably impressed by the service, and on returning to his lodgings wrote some epigrammatic Latin verses of a kind that was common in those days. A copy of the verses was conveyed by some eavesdropper to the king, who immediately determined to proceed against the writer. Next day Melville was summoned before the Privy Council of England at Whitehall to be tried for the *scandalum magnatum*. On being charged, he declared that he was not conscious of crime in writing the verses, of which an inaccurate copy had been shown to His Majesty by what means he did not know, and that he had intended to show them to no one unless the king himself. He had written the verses because of deep grief at seeing such mummeries in a reformed Church, and if he had committed an offence he ought to be tried in his own country, and not before a Council of Englishmen.

That was on 30th November 1606. The matter was dragged out for five months, and then he was found guilty and sentenced to be sent a prisoner to the Tower of London, although the only charge that could be brought against him was the epigram. He was detained in the Tower for four years. The confinement was solitary, even ink and paper being forbidden him, but he covered the walls of his room with Latin verses scratched with the buckle of his shoe. The rigour of the imprisonment was afterwards relaxed; and the Governor of the Tower showed him every kindness which was consistent with his orders. Among the

other prisoners in the Tower at the time was Sir Walter Raleigh.

No time was lost in depriving him of his Principalship in St. Andrews. A Royal Commission met there on 16th June 1607 and declared the office vacant, despite an appeal from the students to the Commissioners that their revered master might be restored to them.

In November 1610, the Duke de Bouillon, a prominent Protestant and one of the Marshals of France, sent an application to King James through the English ambassador in Paris, begging him to release Melville from the Tower, and allow him to go as a professor to the University of Sedan. Melville was in great doubt as to the course he ought to take. Should he accept the post on terms which were tantamount to perpetual banishment? Andrew Lang, who was by no means prejudiced in favour of the Reformers, says Melville "was imprisoned in and banished from a country of which he was a citizen by an inexcusable abuse of arbitrary power. The motive was to keep him and his nephew, James, out of Scotland, where the king was attempting new manœuvres."¹ Melville's one desire was to be allowed to return to his native country "with the hope at length of burial with his ancestors." Distinguished Scottish noblemen who had studied under Melville at St. Andrews appealed in vain to James on his behalf. Return could have been obtained at once by compromising his religious principles, but that he never contemplated. There was nothing for it but to accept the proffered post, and in April 1611 he sailed from the Tower to France, and made his way to Sedan.

¹ Andrew Lang's *History of Scotland*, Vol. II, p. 491.

He had been obliged to support himself by work in the Tower, and, much against his will, a collection had to be made among his friends in Scotland to fit him out before he could undertake the journey.

Sedan was one of the six Protestant Universities at that time in France. The number of Scotsmen teaching in them was great, and most of these had been educated under Melville at St. Andrews. The work of the Chair of Divinity to which he was appointed prospered in his hands, and he was treated most hospitably. But he retained a hankering after Scotland, and requested his friends in touch with the Court to take every opportunity of obtaining permission for him to return. But that was never to be. Despite the strenuous life he had led, his health was remarkably good till 1612. By 1616 it began to give way, and he had recurrent attacks of a fever which he had contracted in the Tower. By 1620 his health was utterly broken, and in 1622 he died in Sedan at the age of seventy-seven. Because of the civil war raging at that time in France, a considerable time elapsed before the intimation of his death reached his friends in Scotland, and the exact date of his death is not known.

Andrew Melville was accomplished in all the learning of the age, and was far in advance of the best scholars in Scotland. In classical learning and in theology he was pre-eminent. As a Latin poet he was second only to Buchanan. He was not ambitious of literary fame, and was too much immersed in public affairs to attempt any great work. Most of his poetical pieces were fugitive. Many of them were epigrammatic satires of defects in high places, and therefore not likely to do

full justice to his muse or to secure lasting fame. His Latin paraphrase of the song of Moses, *Carmen Mosis*, is considered one of the most beautiful renderings of a spiritual theme. Edinburgh is fortunate in possessing two manuscript collections of Latin letters by Melville—one in the University Library, and the other in the National Library.

Melville had a life-long passion for the advancement of letters, and his return to Scotland after his long Continental training gave a great and lasting impulse to learning there. Education he regarded as the great business of his life, and certainly no one for centuries did so much for the advancement of University education. As a teacher he lived with and for his students, and secured in an exceptional degree their reverence and affection. He recognised the backward state of the Scottish Universities as compared with the Continental schools of learning, and he made it his aim to raise the Universities of his country to such a state of efficiency as to make it unnecessary for young students to undergo the dangers and hardships of foreign study. The great reforms he introduced in Glasgow and St. Andrews did much towards this end.

He played a conspicuous part in the chief public events of his time. His ideas were statesmanlike, and he could rouse the nation to great issues. He was passionately attached to civil and religious liberty, and he has left an enduring impress upon the Scottish Church. In his patriotic and religious zeal he was sometimes passionate and overbearing. When roused he had little of the *molliter in verbis*. He was aware of his weakness, as when he said, "If my anger go downward, set your foot on it; but if it go upward, suffer it to rise

to its place." His righteous indignation was always directed against what he considered a public, never a private, wrong. Under reverses he displayed patience and inflexible fortitude, as was shown amidst the disappointments of his later life, when he suffered long years of banishment rather than barter the individual freedom of his countrymen.

Melville was the last of the great triumvirate who did more than any others to shape the destinies of Scotland at the epoch of the Renaissance and the Reformation. If Buchanan was pre-eminent on the intellectual side of the movement, and Knox on the practical, Melville combined the qualities of both. All were zealous supporters of the Reformation, although Buchanan took no active part in the religious struggles either between Protestantism and Papacy or Presbyterianism and Episcopacy. These three great contemporaries typify all that is best in the Scottish mind and character, and they did more than any others to shape the democratic tendencies of modern Scotland.

PART III
EDUCATIONAL BENEFACTORS



GEORGE HERIOT

From a Painting in George Heriot's School, Edinburgh

CHAPTER FIVE

GEORGE HERIOT

SINCE the dawn of Scottish education, "pious donors" have played a noble part in bringing the means of education within the reach of the poorest in the land. They have bequeathed to our schools hundreds of endowments, having a total annual income to-day of over a quarter of a million pounds, and to our Universities benefactions of no less value.¹ It is owing to the generosity of benefactors that young people in Scotland are able to get a good secondary and University education cheaper probably than in any other country.

Ancient records show that during the centuries of Roman Catholic ascendance, the Church devoted a considerable part of its patrimony to the endowment of schools and the assistance of poor scholars. But when the religious upheaval took place in the sixteenth century, almost the whole of the property of the old Church was seized by nobles and others, and education lost nearly all the endowments it had formerly enjoyed. Knox and the other Reformers proposed that the money necessary for carrying into effect the scheme of national education outlined in the First Book of

¹ In the year 1925-6 the total income of the Scottish Universities from endowments was £146,043, and in the same year their total benefits from the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland amounted to £119,953.

Discipline should be obtained from the funds the Roman Catholic Church had devoted to education. But the funds were not available for the reason stated, and so glaring did the injustice to the schools become, "to the great decay of learning and the harm of the poor," that the Scottish Parliament in 1594 passed an Act for the recovery of the revenues of the schools, and their application to their proper use, so that the schools might, in the words of the Act, "be brought to their former state and integrity." Despite its good intention, the Act did little to remedy the evil, and education never recovered its lost endowments. It was not till the seventeenth century that funds for the erection and support of schools, and the payment of teachers, were obtained from public sources—the heritors in the case of parishes, and, at a later date, the town councils in the case of burghs. At the same time generous benefactors began to increase the facilities for education, and to enable poor scholars to take advantage of them. George Heriot was one of the first to help in repairing the loss, and, fortunately, his example has inspired many to similar generosity since his day.

George Heriot was the eldest son of a prominent citizen of Edinburgh who was a member of the Scottish Parliament. He was born in Edinburgh in the beginning of June 1563. Little is known of the boyhood and youth of Heriot. After receiving a good education for the times, he was trained for his father's trade as a goldsmith—then one of the most lucrative and influential of callings. Goldsmiths and jewellers were at that time among the wealthiest members of the com-

munity, and they transacted much of the business now done by bankers, whose profession indeed arose out of the incorporations or guilds of goldsmiths. The guilds received special rights and privileges in this connection by a Royal Charter of James VI in 1586.

At the age of twenty-three, Heriot commenced life on his own account. From the outset his business prospered, not less from the shrewd principles on which it was conducted than from the persevering industry with which he devoted himself to it. A few months previously he married Christian Marjoribanks, the daughter of a successful merchant and respected burgess of Edinburgh. His father gave him 1500 merks to provide for his marriage and to start him in business. His wife brought him a small dowry, and their united capital amounted to the modest sum of £214 sterling. Soon he obtained the patronage of James VI and his extravagant consort, Anne of Denmark; and to this connection he owed the foundation of his large fortune. Not only had the queen a passion for costly jewellery herself, but she bestowed it with prodigal generosity on her courtiers and favourites. If she was short of money, or wished to buy new trinkets for herself or her friends, she not infrequently pledged with Heriot some of her most costly jewels. In 1601, Heriot was appointed, by a writ of the Privy Council, goldsmith and jeweller to both the king and queen, with a right to all the profits and emoluments of the two offices. The appointment attached him more closely to the royal household, and in his double capacity as goldsmith and money-lender or banker to the Court an apartment in Holyrood Palace was assigned to him.

The sources of Heriot's fortune throw an interesting

light on the social conditions and customs of the period. Queen Anne's account to Heriot for the ten years preceding the removal of the Court to London in 1603 amounted to over £40,000. The members of the aristocracy imitated the extravagance of the Court, and vied with each other in their display of costly and gaudy jewels. As Maitland says in his *History of Edinburgh* (p. 297), "A rude magnificence, peculiar to the age, atoned for the want of elegance by the massy splendour of its ornaments. The nobles were proud, and extravagant when their fortunes would permit." In their chronic need of money they frequently applied to Heriot for pecuniary advances on the security of their properties.

When James VI succeeded to the throne of England on the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, Heriot's business required him to follow the Court to London, and soon we find him there "dwelland foreanent the New Exchange." Here he continued to enjoy the royal patronage, and soon amassed a large fortune. Amidst his worldly advancement he had the misfortune to lose his wife, Christian Marjoribanks. Whether there were any children of the marriage is not known, certainly there were none who survived Heriot. Five years later, in 1608, he connected himself with the distinguished house of Primrose by marrying Alison Primrose, daughter of James Primrose, Clerk to the Privy Council and grandfather to the first Earl of Rosebery. She was a young woman of great ability and piety, but unfortunately the marriage was fated to be a short one, for she died in child-birth in 1612. Sir Walter Scott suggests that it was probably the grief of this second bereavement which led him to devote

his large fortune to a charitable institution. Heriot continued a widower during the remaining twelve years of his life. He had no surviving children by marriage, and he appears to have been very generous to his numerous relatives in his life-time, and to have made liberal provision for them at his death.

In his remaining years he continued to apply himself assiduously to business, and to increase in riches and in power at Court. Considering the influence he exerted, and the prominent part he played in his life-time, it is to be regretted that no contemporary account of the manner of man he was has come down to us. Sir Walter Scott makes him a leading character in *The Fortunes of Nigel*, and the description he gives of Heriot, based on careful historical research, produces the impression of identity, and it is certainly more accurate than anything that could now be written :

“The stranger’s dress was, though grave, rather richer than usual. His panned hose were of black velvet, lined with purple silk, which garniture appeared at the slashes. His doublet was of purple cloth, and his short cloak of black velvet to correspond with his hose; and both were adorned with a great number of small silver buttons richly wrought in filigree. A triple chain of gold hung round his neck; and in place of a sword or dagger, he wore at his belt an ordinary knife for the purpose of the table, with a small silver case, which appeared to contain writing materials. He was a well-made man, about the middle size, and seemed firm in health though advanced in years. His looks expressed sagacity and good-humour; and the air of respectability which his dress announced was well supported by his

clear eye, ruddy cheek, and gray hair. He used the Scottish idiom in his first address, but in such a manner that it could hardly be distinguished whether he was passing upon his friend a sort of jocose mockery, or whether it was his own native dialect, for his ordinary discourse had little provincialism."

George Heriot died in London on 12th February 1624 in his house in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and was buried in the Parish Church of that name. After making liberal provision for such relatives as might have claims upon him, and leaving legacies to friends and servants, George Heriot stated in writing his intention to leave the residue of his fortune "to be employed and bestowed upon the pious, holy, and religious uses underwritten," namely the founding and erecting of "a public, pious, and charitable work within the Burgh of Edinburgh to the glory of God, for the public weal and ornament of the said Burgh of Edinburgh, and for the honour and due regard which I have and bear to my native soil and mother City of Edinburgh aforesaid, and in imitation of the public, pious, and religious work founded within the City of London called Christ's Hospital"; to be used "for the education, nursing, and upbringing of youths being poor orphans and fatherless children of decayed burgesses and freemen of the said Burgh destitute and left without means. . . ." That was written in September 1623. In his Last Will and Testament, dated 10th December 1623, Heriot stated his intention in more detail. The most important article of the Will bequeathed the surplus of the estate, after the payment of claims and legacies, "unto the Provost, Bailies, Ministers, and ordinary Council, for

the time being of the said town of Edinburgh in perpetuity; and for and towards the purchasing of certain lands in perpetuity, to belong unto the said Hospital, to be employed for the maintenance, relief, bringing up, and education of so many poor fatherless boys, free-men's sons of the town of Edinburgh, as the means which I give, and the yearly value of the lands purchased . . . shall amount or come to." In a Codicil added to his Will a month later, Heriot intimated some further small legacies to friends, and directed that in all time coming ten Exhibitioners or Bursars of the University of Edinburgh should receive such annual sum as the funds of his estate would permit.

When all the matters connected with George Heriot's estate were settled, legacies deducted, and bad debts written off, the capital at the disposal of the Governors of the Trust amounted to £23,625 sterling. By advantageous investment the sum rapidly increased. The Governors purchased the estate of Broughton and Pilrig and other lands to the north of Edinburgh on which the New Town now stands. They also bought the greater part of the lands from Calton Hill eastwards to Leith. These purchases have increased greatly in value since then owing to the extension of the city. From these small beginnings the capital of the Trust now amounts to over £880,000, with a revenue of £34,500 devoted exclusively to the purposes of education.

The Governors set themselves without delay to carry out the specific duty imposed upon them by the Will. In 1627 they purchased from the Town Council for £422 sterling $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land forming part of a field called the High Riggs, south of the Grassmarket

and extending westwards to the old city wall. On this site the foundation stone of the present magnificent Hospital building was laid on 1st July 1628. The plans of the building are reputed to be the work of the celebrated Inigo Jones, who is said to have supplied them to Dr. Balcanquhall, the nephew and chief executor of George Heriot. The construction of the building was superintended by William Aytoune, one of the most skilful master-masons of his day in Scotland. National troubles interrupted the work from 1639 to 1642. When almost completed the building was taken possession of by Oliver Cromwell's army and used as an infirmary for sick and wounded English troops till 1658, when, at the urgent request of the Governors, the inmates were removed to the Infirmary, in the Canongate. The Hospital building was then rapidly completed, and was ready for the admission of the boys in April 1659. The total expenditure on the structure was about £30,000—a large sum for that period. The building, comprising school and chapel, is to-day not only one of the ornaments of Edinburgh, but is one of the finest specimens of school architecture in the country.

George Heriot's bequest has grown to be one of the most important and influential educational endowments in Scotland. At first thirty-two boys were admitted, but the number of foundationers was increased from time to time till they reached about six times that number. The Governors have always been progressive, and have developed the work of the Trust along sound lines. In 1886 they discarded the Hospital system, giving the foundationers instead free education and a maintenance allowance of £20 per annum. At that

GEORGE HERIOT

date they opened up the school in accordance with a scheme prepared by the Commissioners appointed under the Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act of 1882. Instead of giving board and education to some 180 foundationers, the institution is now a great secondary school providing an excellent education on modern and scientific lines to about 1300 boys. The Trust has also supplied valuable Bursaries and Scholarships for graduate and post-graduate University study, and it has helped to institute and maintain one of the most important centres of technical education in the country—the Heriot-Watt College.

As Sir Walter Scott said, Scotsmen have good reason to be grateful to George Heriot for the lasting benefits he has bestowed on their country.

GEORGE AND THOMAS HUTCHESON

The Hutchesons' Trust is the most important in the west of Scotland, and rivals that of Heriot in Edinburgh. The founder, George Hutcheson, was the eldest child of Thomas Hutcheson, laird of Lambhill. The date of his birth is not precisely known, but it was probably about the year 1558. After receiving a good education, he adopted the profession of Writer and Notary Public. In addition to his other occupations he carried on a profitable business as a money-lender or banker, as his contemporary George Heriot was doing in Edinburgh, and he may be regarded as the first banker in Glasgow.

Hutcheson died in December 1639 at the ripe age of

eighty-one. His wife had died seven years earlier, and there were no children of the marriage. In a Deed of Mortification¹ executed by him ten days before his death, Hutcheson conveyed to "the Provost, Bailies, and ordinary Ministers of Glasgow, and their successors in office, the tenement of land lying on the north side of High Street (now Trongate) west of the Old West Port, to be edified and made a perfect Hospital for the entertainment of the poor, aged, decrepit men to be placed therein." He bequeathed 20,000 merks, or £1111 sterling, for the maintenance in the Hospital of "as many aged, decrepit men, of the age above fifty years, and known to be destitute of all help and support," as the annual income would afford. He estimated that the number of pensioners might possibly be eleven.

George Hutcheson also left a draft of a Deed in which he proposed to found a School, but he died before the matter was definitely arranged. His executor was his brother, Thomas. The latter not only ratified the Deed of Mortification of the Hospital, but added substantially to the endowment of it, and also carried out, at his own expense, the intention of his brother regarding the foundation of a School.

Thomas Hutcheson was born about the year 1590, and was thus some thirty years younger than his brother. As their father died while Thomas was still a child, the upbringing of the latter was superintended by George. At the age of seventeen, Thomas enrolled

¹ Early bequests were made by Deeds of Endowment or "Mortification," as they were called, because they were "gifts of the dead hand" to the recipients of the bequest.

in Glasgow University. The present matriculation fee had not then been invented, but students on entering the University always made to it a gift of a silver spoon of the value of ten merks. An entry in the Book of the Eonomus shows that Thomas Hutcheson "payed a spoune" to the University in 1607. He graduated in 1610, and his name appears among the Laureati of that year. He always acknowledged that it was to George he owed his University education—the chief among "the blessings, and the pious and memorable exampell, for which, under God, I am indebted to my brother George."

At first Thomas Hutcheson seems to have had an inclination to enter the Church, but he gave that up in favour of Law. Like his brother he became a Notary Public, and obtained the lucrative post of Registrar of Sasines for Glasgow and the County of Renfrew. In 1640 he gave £1000 for the enlargement of the University building, and the endowment of a Library Curatorship. In the following year he assigned to the Governors of the Hospital for aged pensioners established by his elder brother a sum of 20,200 merks for a School to be built in connection with it "for educating and harbouring of twelve male children, indigent orphans, or others of like condition and quality"; the beneficiaries "shall all be burgesses' sons of the burgh of Glasgow," and preference shall be given to the name of Hutcheson or Herbertson—his mother's name. In July 1641 he appended an "Eik" to his Mortification, by which he assigned to the Governors a further sum of 10,000 merks partly for the School and partly to augment his brother's bequest for old men. Unfortunately he did not live to see

the fruits of his liberality, for he died suddenly on 1st September 1641 at the early age of fifty-one.

From what has been said it will be seen that Thomas Hutcheson alone was the founder of the School that bears the name of the two brothers. Including the sums stated above, they gave altogether for the endowment of the Hospital and School three tenements of valuable land in the Trongate, and a sum of £4017 sterling, namely £1694 for the aged pensioners, £1122 for the boys, and £1201 for both purposes jointly. From these small beginnings the capital funds of the Hutchesons' Trust have grown by wise management to over £600,000, with a gross annual revenue of more than £24,000. In 1872 the Governors of the Trust obtained a private Act of Parliament empowering them to place a limit on the total amount to be paid to the aged pensioners, and to increase the amount to be devoted to education. The Commissioners under the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act of 1882 decided that not less than two-fifths of the total net annual revenues of the Hutchesons' Trust would be applied to the provisions of the Trust for carrying out or furthering the cause of education.

The erection of the Hospital to accommodate the pensioners and scholars was commenced in March 1641 on four riggs of land fronting the Trongate, the foundation stone being laid by Thomas Hutcheson himself. Such were the ideas of the space required for education in these days that the School measured only 19 feet by 15. The old Hospital building was replaced in 1805 by a structure of distinct architectural features in Ingram Street. In 1841 the School was transferred to a separate building in Crown Street, and large

extensions were made to it in 1876 at a cost of £26,000.

The private Act of 1872, already referred to, gave the Governors power to provide a School for Girls, which was opened four years afterwards in Elgin Street. In 1912 the Girls' School was removed to Kingarth Street, where it is housed in an excellent building costing about £40,000. The two Schools under the Trust—the Hutchesons' Grammar School for Boys and the Hutchesons' Grammar School for Girls—are now providing free education to a limited number of foundationers and an excellent secondary education to a large number of ordinary pupils. In addition to this, the Hutchesons' Educational Trust is providing a considerable number of School Bursaries, and Bursaries to students at the University and the Technical College, and also has the power to make subsidies to the Technical College and the School of Art.¹ In these ways the gifts of George and Thomas Hutcheson are doing untold good not only to Glasgow, but to the whole country.

¹ These subsidies have been in abeyance for some years owing to the large demands made by some of the other educational provisions of the Trust.

CHAPTER SIX

AMONG the most valuable educational benefactions in Scotland are those under the management of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh. The Company comprises a large number of leading merchants, manufacturers, and traders in Edinburgh and Leith. It was incorporated under Royal Charter of Charles II in 1681. By the Charter it was directed that the funds of the incorporation were to "be managed and disbursed for the good and utility of the said Company, and for the relief and supply of such of their members as may happen to fail and decay, and of their indigent widows and orphans." From its very foundation, therefore, provision for orphans has been one of the specific aims of the Merchant Company, and this is the root from which has sprung its wonderful system of educational endowments and schools.

MARY ERSKINE

While George Heriot's scheme provided for the education and maintenance of poor fatherless boys, there was no similar provision in existence for girls. Shortly after the foundation of the Merchant Company the idea arose of instituting an Hospital for indigent girls of the merchant class. It was then that Mrs. Mary Erskine or Hair, widow of one James Hair who had

been a druggist in Edinburgh, intimated to the Merchant Company in 1694 a gift of 10,000 merks for the "maintenance of burghess children of the female sex." In order to supplement the gift, the Company opened a subscription list "for the lasses," and so hearty was the response that in two years the fund amounted to 32,265 merks. Thereupon the Merchant Company, in September 1696, passed a resolution to the effect that "whomsoever persons, male or female, have subscribed, or shall subscribe . . . the sum of two thousand merks Scots money towards the maintenance and virtuous education of female children from seven to fourteen years of age, they and their heirs succeeding to them shall have the presentation of a female child to be maintained and educated in the Hospital to be provided for the end foresaid, until the person so presented shall attain the age of fourteen years complete; and so forth, of new, again to present another, and so forth for all time thereafter."

A Committee, appointed to take action for the inauguration of the Hospital, recommended that it should be started in the upper part of the old mansion-house in the Cowgate in which the Merchant Company had its business premises. The Company consented to grant the partial use of the house and kitchen for seven years "to the lasses, until their stock increased." The Hospital thus inaugurated in 1696 was the first of the great system of schools managed by the Merchant Company. It was decided to call it "The Merchant Maiden Hospital." Unfortunately, very little is known regarding the foundress of the first institution in Scotland specially devoted to the education of girls. She claimed remote kinship with the Earl of Mar, and

called herself "Mary Erskine of the House of Mar." In making her arrangements with the Merchant Company she retained the right to nominate two Governors of the Hospital of the surname of Erskine, and arranged that at her death the right of nomination should pass to the head of the house of Erskine, the Earl of Mar.

Apparently Mrs. Hair was not satisfied with the temporary home of the Hospital in the Cowgate, for in 1701 we find her purchasing a large house and grounds in what is now Bristo Street for 12,000 merks, and conveying it by Trust Deed to the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital. In course of time even this building became insufficient for the purpose, and a new building in Lauriston, facing the Meadows, was completed in 1818 at a cost of £12,250. Here for fully half a century the housing and educating of the girl foundationers went on, but in 1870 a Provisional Order was passed empowering the Governors to convert the Hospital into a day school for girls, and to board out the foundationers. Accordingly, a secondary school for girls, called the "Edinburgh Educational Institution for Young Ladies," was opened in the Hospital building in September 1870. Immediately to the east of it was George Watson's Hospital for Boys. The grounds of the latter were about to be sold as a site for the new Royal Infirmary. At the same time the Governors of the Maiden Hospital were in need of larger buildings, and they sold the Hospital and Grounds to the Governors of George Watson's Hospital for £23,000. The Merchant Maiden Trust thereupon purchased for £14,000 a large property in Queen Street, and the institution was transferred to

GEORGE WATSON

these premises in October 1871. There it has continued, under the name of "Edinburgh Ladies' College," as a high-class secondary day school for some 900 girls.

GEORGE WATSON

One of the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital was named George Watson. He also acted as Treasurer to the institution, and was keenly interested in education. A few weeks before his death, in April 1723, he executed a Will leaving a legacy to the Merchant Maiden Hospital, and a sum of £144,000 Scots, equivalent to £12,000 sterling, "to raise a new Hospital for entertaining and educating male children and grandchildren of decayed merchants in Edinburgh, which Hospital is to be called in all succeeding generations George Watson's Hospital." He gave his trustees power to prepare rules for the new Hospital, but requested them to keep "as near to the rules of the foundation and management of Heriot's Hospital and the Merchant Maiden Hospital as the nature of the thing would allow of." The Trustees vested the stock and revenues of the Hospital in the Merchant Company, and placed the administration of the funds under a body of Governors consisting of the Master, Treasurer, and twelve Assistants of the Merchant Company, the minister of the Old Church, Edinburgh, of which Watson was a member, and five members chosen by the Town Council.

Fortunately a fairly full account of George Watson, written two years after his death, has come down to us.

MAKERS OF SCOTTISH EDUCATION

It gives interesting details of the manner of life of this great benefactor of education. He was born about the middle of the seventeenth century, presumably in Edinburgh. His father, John Watson, was a merchant there, and had two sons, of whom George was the elder. The father died young and in poor circumstances, and the two boys were brought up by their father's sister. After giving him a good education, she apprenticed George to a merchant in Edinburgh, and at the conclusion of his apprenticeship sent him to Rotterdam, one of the best centres for commercial training in Europe at that period. In 1676 he returned to Edinburgh, and obtained an appointment as accountant and confidential assistant to Sir James Dick of Prestonfield, a former Provost of Edinburgh and "a merchant of great business." He got a good salary, resided with the family, and was allowed to carry on business on his own account as a trader and bill-discounter. Meanwhile, Watson was not only acquiring considerable wealth, but building up a great reputation for business ability.

When the Bank of Scotland was founded in 1695 he was appointed its first accountant, and at the same time continued to pursue his private business with assiduity and much success. He made the greater part of his fortune by dealing in Bills of Exchange, particularly with clients in London. As his riches increased, he is also said to have increased his gifts to charities and to the poor. As for himself, he lived on a moderate and frugal scale. He was never married, and he boarded in a humble way with a step-brother. According to the contemporary account to which we are indebted for the above facts, George Watson "was a very exact

and diligent man in his worldly business, generous to his relatives, a man of exemplary piety and devotion, without noise or ostentation . . . averse to everything that has the show of vanity," and mindful of those who befriended him when young and poor. He died on 3rd April 1723 at about seventy years of age. For some years before his death he had discussed with some of his friends his intention to found an Hospital for orphans, and had obtained copies of the constitutions of Hospitals in England and Holland. "Nothing but his own modesty had hindered him from perfecting that work in his own life-time."

The Trustees appointed under his Will feued, in 1738, from the Heriot Trust seven and a half acres of ground in Lauriston facing the Meadows. The Hospital was opened there in June 1741, and accommodated about ninety foundationers. It continued on this footing for over a century and a quarter. Then the defects of the Hospital system began to be felt, and the opinion grew that the funds of the Hospitals, which were rapidly increasing, could be used to more advantage for the extension of secondary education. The Merchant Company requested the late Professor S. S. Laurie in 1868 to report on the four Hospitals managed by the Company, and upon the Hospital system as a whole (see p. 179). On receiving his Report, the Merchant Company expressed "cordial concurrence with Professor Laurie in thinking that the Governors should take measures towards breaking up the monastic character of such institutions as George Watson's Hospital . . . endeavouring to assimilate the condition of the young people to that of children in the outer world, and of maintaining and

fostering, as far as possible, the ties, attractions, and virtues of home."

This Report and that of the Argyll Commission, issued about the same time, led to the passing of the Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act, 1869, enabling the trustees of Hospitals and other Endowed Institutions to apply to the Home Secretary for Provisional Orders to secure "the better government and administration of the Institution over which they presided," and the better "application of the revenues thereof, whereby the usefulness and efficiency of the Hospitals and Institutions might be increased, and the benefits thereof extended."

The Merchant Company at once applied for Provisional Orders, and in 1870 obtained powers to throw open its Hospitals as day schools—at which not only foundationers could get free education, but other children could get a good elementary and secondary education at a moderate cost. The effect of the reforms was remarkable. Whereas in Session 1870-71, the last before the Hospitals were opened up, the number of pupils taught in all the four institutions under the management of the Merchant Company was 428, the number in the following Session, 1871-72, was 4100 boys and girls, and many had to be refused admission. The staff increased within the same period from 23 to 270.

George Watson's College for Boys was opened in September 1870 in the old Hospital building in Lauriston, and, attended by 800 boys, at once took its place in the front rank of secondary schools. At the same time there was a movement for the removal of the Royal Infirmary from Infirmary Street to a larger site, and a committee of citizens approached the

Governors of George Watson's Trust with an offer of £43,000 for the building and grounds of the Hospital. The offer was accepted, and almost concurrently the Trust acquired the adjoining buildings and grounds of the Merchant Maiden Hospital (p. 100), and from 1871 onwards the famous boys' school has carried on its great work in the fine old buildings facing the Meadows. It has an enrolment of over 1300 boys. Once more (1929) the Infirmary is in need of space to carry on its beneficent work, and again the Governors of George Watson's Boys' College, out of regard for the public weal, have agreed to give way. They have acquired the buildings and playing fields of Merchiston Castle School in Colinton Road. New buildings with the most up-to-date equipment are being prepared, and it is hoped that this great School will enter upon a further career of usefulness there in 1931.

The success of Edinburgh Ladies' College in Queen Street, and the growing demand for admission to it, encouraged the Governors of George Watson's Trust to use the powers conferred by the Provisional Order to establish another school for girls to be called "George Watson's Ladies' College." Accordingly they acquired premises in George Square, in the Old Town, and the School was opened in October 1871 with an enrolment of 500 pupils for the first year. The building has since then been greatly enlarged and improved, and the institution is now a large and highly successful Secondary School for Girls run on the same lines as the Boys' College. It is attended by some 900 girls.

It only remains to say that the Governors of George

Watson's Trust, in conjunction with those of Daniel Stewart's Trust, exercised in May 1871 their powers under the Provisional Orders obtained in the previous year to endow a Chair of Commercial and Political Economy and Mercantile Law in the University of Edinburgh. The Merchant Company has retained the right of free attendance at the Class by twelve former pupils of George Watson's and Daniel Stewart's Colleges.

JAMES GILLESPIE

Before the end of the eighteenth century another endowment of a philanthropic and educational character was put under the care of the Merchant Company. James Gillespie of Spylaw, in the parish of Colinton, near Edinburgh, died in April 1797, and in his Trust Disposition he directed his trustees to convey to the Master, Treasurer, and Assistants of the Merchant Company his estate of Bonaly and other lands near Colinton, along with a sum of £12,000, to found and endow an Hospital "within the city of Edinburgh or suburbs for the aliment and maintenance of old men and women." Eight years after his death it was reckoned that the lands bequeathed by Gillespie were worth £30,000, so that the total bequest to the old people was £42,000—a magnificent sum in those days. In addition to this, Gillespie bequeathed a sum of £700 to provide a building for a school and a residence for the master and his assistants.

James Gillespie and a brother John carried on business as tobacconists, and, as the business prospered

JAMES GILLESPIE

through their care and assiduity, they were able to build a snuff mill on the banks of the Water of Leith near Colinton. As his wealth increased, James Gillespie bought the mansion-house of Spylaw overlooking the mill, and the beautiful estate of Bonaly stretching from Colinton to the top of the Pentland Hills. All accounts show that Gillespie was a plain-living, industrious, and benevolent man. From the picture in Kay's Collection of Edinburgh Portraits, we learn something of Gillespie's appearance and shrewd and kindly face. The description accompanying the portrait says: "Neither of the brothers was ever married. Although frugal and industrious, they were by no means miserly. On the contrary, James in particular is described as one of the best and kindest of men. . . . Of the younger portion of his dependents he took a fatherly charge, instilling into their minds the most wholesome advice, and to all recommending habits of sobriety and industry. 'Waste not, want not' was a favourite maxim in his household economy. . . . As a landlord, Mr. Gillespie was peculiarly indulgent. . . . Andrew, his apprentice in the mill, was frequently despatched in the capacity of collector of arrears (of rent). On his return the old man would inquire, 'Weel, lad, ha'e ye gotten onything?' Andrew's reply frequently intimated the amazing receipt of a shilling. 'Weel, weel, it's aye better than naething; but it's weel seen they're the lairds and no' me.'" Despite his frugal habits, Gillespie kept his carriage, for which the Honourable Henry Erskine facetiously suggested the motto—

"Wha wad hae thocht it,
That noses had bocht it?"

He died at Spylaw at the age of eighty, and was buried in the neighbouring churchyard of Colinton.

The first business of the Trustees appointed under his Will was to get suitable sites and buildings for the Hospital and the Free School. After looking around, the Trustees decided to buy a property called "Wright's Houses" at the west end of Bruntsfield Links. The site extended to between seven and eight acres, and on it the Hospital—the old building that now faces Gillespie Crescent—was built as a residence for about forty old men and women. As a site for the Free School the south-east corner of the property, on the main road, was chosen. The School was opened in 1803, and, owing to the smallness of the funds available for it, the number of boys admitted was restricted to sixty-five. The object, according to the testator, was to give them a good elementary education, and to devote special care to their moral and religious training.

The work of the Hospital and Free School went on without much change till 1870. In that year the Governors obtained a Provisional Order empowering them, *inter alia*, to unite the Funds and Trusts of the Hospital and Free School, to allow pensions of £10 to £25 per annum to all or any of the aged pensioners in place of maintaining them in the Hospital, to convert the Hospital buildings into an elementary day school, to charge moderate fees from pupils, both boys and girls, and to transfer promising boys to Daniel Stewart's College to continue their education. The new School was opened in September 1870, and, out of about 1700 applicants for admission, 1000 boys and girls between $5\frac{1}{2}$ and $13\frac{1}{2}$ years of age were chosen, including some 16 school bursars.

DANIEL STEWART

For nearly thirty years the School continued to do excellent work under the administration of the Merchant Company, but it was constantly hampered by the meagreness of its endowments. At length a time came when it could no longer be carried on with the existing funds, especially in view of the heightened demands regarding school accommodation and equipment. Accordingly, in 1908 the Merchant Company handed over the School to the School Board. The Board transformed the School into a fee-paying Higher Grade School. Since then it has been transferred to the south side of Bruntsfield Links, where it is doing excellent work as the "James Gillespie Secondary School for Girls."

DANIEL STEWART

Few better examples of the growth of a great benefaction from small beginnings could be given than the case of Daniel Stewart's Hospital. The "pious founder," Daniel Stewart, was a native of Logierait, in Perthshire, where he was born in 1741. Early in life he came to Edinburgh, and at the age of thirty he obtained a post in the Court of Exchequer, which he held for forty-three years till his death in May 1814. He was interred in the Old Calton Burying Ground in Edinburgh. Mr. Stewart was never married. He lived plainly, and he invested his savings judiciously. The result was that out of his small means he was able to amass some £18,000 in money, besides some heritable property. In his Trust Disposition he directed his six

Trustees, all colleagues on the staff of the Court of Exchequer, to provide a life-rent for an invalid niece, to build and endow a Free School in his native place, Logierait, and instructed that the residue be allowed to accumulate till it reached £40,000, independent of the heritable property, and that then the capital, or such part of it as might be necessary, should be used to purchase suitable ground in Edinburgh or the suburbs, and to build on it an Hospital for the maintenance and education of poor boys. The institution was to be called "Daniel Stewart's Hospital," and in selecting the boys preference was to be given to those having the name of Stewart or Macfarlane, and after them poor boys in general, but they must in every case be descended from honest, industrious, and well-behaved parents who were unable suitably to support their children at other schools. The age of admission was to be from 7 to 10, and they were to leave at 14 to 15. The branches to be taught in the Hospital should be English, the principles of Holy Religion, Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Latin, Mathematics.

The Will stated that his Trustees were to have the entire management of his estate until the Hospital was opened, and for the space of five years thereafter. After the expiry of that period the perpetual management of the Hospital and of the funds belonging to it was to devolve upon the Master, Treasurer, and twelve Assistants of the Merchant Company for the time being, and their successors in office. In framing the rules of the Hospital his Trustees were to take as a model the statutes and rules of George Watson's Hospital.

In their search for a suitable site for the Hospital and

playing fields, Stewart's Trustees in 1836 bought 11½ acres of land on the south side of Queensferry Road, and on this erected a handsome building, of which David Rhind was the architect. The Hospital was opened on 1st February 1855, and the management of the Hospital and of Daniel Stewart's property passed into the hands of the Merchant Company on 1st February 1860 in terms of the Will. At that time the funds of the Hospital amounted to £79,000, exclusive of the heritable properties in Edinburgh.

In 1870 the number of foundationers was sixty-eight. In that year a Provisional Order was obtained for the reform of the Hospital and its funds by changing it into a day school to be called "Daniel Stewart's College for Boys," and by founding eight bursaries of £25 each in value, open to foundationers and boys from the other two schools of the Company proceeding to Edinburgh University. Two University scholarships of £100 each, tenable for three years, were also instituted, and power was given by the Order to contribute towards the foundation of a Chair of Commercial and Political Economy in Edinburgh University (p. 106).

In September 1870 Daniel Stewart's College for Boys met for the first time in the Hospital buildings, and was attended by over 200 boys, including the foundationers. Now it has a roll of over 600, and is a thoroughly well-equipped secondary school.

It may be stated that Daniel Stewart's was the last school established in Scotland on the Hospital plan, and that since the passing of the Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act in 1869 all except four or five of the Hospitals then in existence have been transformed into day schools.

One of the romances of Scottish education is the wonderful success that has attended the labours of the Edinburgh Merchant Company in the cause of education for well over two centuries. It is difficult to analyse the secret of the success, but probably it is due to a combination of factors. One undoubtedly is the care and business capacity with which the funds of the several Trusts have been managed. From the small beginnings stated above, the accumulated funds of the three educational Trusts—Merchant Maiden, George Watson, and Daniel Stewart—amount to-day to over £624,000, with an annual revenue of fully £28,000. The funds are invested mainly in land and other property which have increased largely in value since their purchase. Through the appreciation in the value of the endowments, the Company has been able to fix the school fees on the moderate scale at the present time of nine guineas per session in the beginners' classes to nineteen guineas in the highest classes, and no extras are charged except instrumental music. The Company has also been able to give generous assistance to able pupils continuing their education after leaving the schools.

Another cause of success is the ability and extreme care with which the Company has attended to the educational arrangements of its schools. These qualities were never better shown than in the foresight the Company showed in 1870, when it was the first body in Scotland to open up its Hospitals and transform them into secondary day schools—two for boys and two for girls. That was a service of the utmost value to school and university education in Scotland, and the Company has done much by its influence and example

to bring to fruition the scheme of national education planned by the Reformers in 1560. The Company has had a clear educational policy which it has consistently pursued. It has understood the needs of the merchant and middle class—a class which is thoroughly alive to the benefits of higher education. It has recognised the right of girls to secondary education as well as boys, and its two Ladies' Colleges have been pioneers in the higher education of women.

Until 1909, each Trust managed by the Company was kept separate and had its own committees and meetings. The same individuals were Governors of several of the Trusts, and the demands upon their time and energies were unduly great. In that year the Company approached Parliament, and obtained powers under "The Merchant Company Endowments Order" to consolidate all the Trusts into two groups—educational and charitable. The former includes everything connected with the four schools, foundationers, bursaries, etc. The concentration thus effected has diminished the burden of administrative work, while at the same time increasing its efficiency.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ROBERT GORDON

ROBERT GORDON, the founder of the Hospital that bore his name, was born in Aberdeen in 1668. He was the only son of Arthur Gordon, an advocate of some repute at the Edinburgh Bar. Shortly after Robert Gordon was born his father settled in Aberdeen, where he died when his son was twelve years of age. Robert Gordon was descended from the Gordons of Pitlurg and Parkhill, an old Aberdeenshire family connected with the house of Huntly. He received a good education, and continued a student of literature all his life.

Gordon started life for himself at the early age of sixteen, for in 1684 we find him enrolled as a burgess of guild of Aberdeen. His father had left him a legacy of 20,000 merks. At an early stage he left Aberdeen for Dantzic, and carried on business as a merchant there. He amassed a considerable fortune, and was able to retire with a competency and return to his native city at the age of fifty-two. He spent the last twelve years of his life in Aberdeen, and died there in April 1731. So highly was he regarded by his fellow-citizens that he got the unusual honour of a public funeral—what a contemporary called “a princely burial.”¹

¹ Tradition has represented Gordon as miserly in his habits, but nearly all stories to that effect should be rejected. That he lived frugally in order to establish his great benefaction is doubtless true,

Soon after retiring from business he conceived the idea of founding a Hospital, the thought being suggested to him by the example of George Heriot, whose Hospital was opened only a few years before Gordon was born. The preamble of the Deed of Mortification and Disposition executed by him in 1729 showed that he had been turning over in his mind the idea of founding a Hospital for years before he gave definite effect to it: "Forasmuch as I have deliberately and seriously for these several years bygone intended and resolved, and am now come to a full and final resolution and determination to make a pious Mortification of my whole substance and effects . . . towards the building of an Hospital. . . . Which resolution purely proceeds from the zeal I bear and carry to the glory and honour of God, and that the true principles of our Holy and Christian religion may be the more effectually propagated in young ones; and that the knowledge of letters and of lawful employments and callings may flourish and be advanced in all succeeding generations."

In the Deed he appointed as his Trustees the provost, bailies, the town council, and four city ministers of Aberdeen. He placed at their disposal the sum of £10,000 sterling, or whatever sum might be realised from his whole effects, and instructed that this sum was to be applied to the erection and maintenance of the said Hospital. The boys admitted were to be the indigent sons or grandsons of decayed merchants and

and he also appears to have been eccentric in his ways. That he was a man of refined and, in some respects, expensive tastes is shown by the valuable collections he formed of coins, medals, old prints and engravings. That he was esteemed in his day and generation is shown by the exceptional tributes paid to his memory by the civic authorities and his fellow-townsmen.

brethren of the guild of Aberdeen, preference being given to relations of the founder of the name of Gordon or Menzies (his mother's name), and next, any other boys of the same names. The boys chosen were not to be under 8 years of age or over 11, and they were to continue in the Hospital until they were 14, 15, or 16 at the most. The boys were to be taught English, Latin, Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, and Vocal Music. On leaving the Hospital they were to be put to merchandising, or lawful trades and employments, according as their genius and inclination might lead them. They were to be apprenticed for five years, and were to receive an apprentice fee from the Hospital of £10 sterling if bound to a merchant, and of £5 if bound to a tradesman. If they behaved faithfully and diligently during their apprenticeship and for one year thereafter, they were to be given £200 Scots if apprenticed to a merchant, and £100 Scots if to a tradesman. They were to be given a further £100 Scots to begin trade with, if the Governors thought they deserved it.

The Will directed that the sum to be spent on the building of the Hospital was not to exceed 30,000 merks (£1666 sterling), and that in order that the whole of the original endowment might be available for the maintenance and education of the children, no pupil was to be admitted till the interest on the original capital was sufficient to defray the whole of the expenses of the erection of the Hospital and the purchase price of the ground on which it was built.

When Gordon's affairs were settled after his death it was found that the Trust funds amounted to about £10,300 sterling. This the Trustees invested chiefly in lands, feu duties, and heritable property. The value

of these increased so much that when the Moncrieff Commission on Educational Endowments made its Second Report in 1880 the funds of Gordon's endowment were estimated at £184,000, with a net income of £5670 a year.

The site chosen by Gordon was the grounds of Schoolhill, once occupied by the convent of the Black Friars, and on this the erection of the Hospital was begun in the year after his death. The architect was William Adam, the father of John and Robert Adam, the celebrated architects. The completion of the Hospital was delayed for many years, partly owing to shortage of money and partly to the disordered state of the country. The first occupants of the buildings, while still incomplete, were the troops of the Duke of Cumberland, when he was following northwards the remnants of Prince Charlie's army in the rising of 1745. The Hospital was finished in 1750, and twenty-six boys were then admitted.

The history of the transformation of Robert Gordon's Hospital into a great day school need not be traced. In 1881 a Provisional Order¹ was passed empowering the Governors to convert it into a secondary day school for boys under the name of "Robert Gordon's College," and to institute evening classes giving advanced practical instruction to youths and adults of both sexes. Since then the Evening Classes have developed into a great Technical College attended by about 2000 day and evening students. The Technical College comprises excellently equipped Schools of Engineering, Chemistry and Pharmacy, Navigation, Art, and Domestic Science.

¹ *Report of the Moncrieff Commission* (1881), pp. 30-43.

JOHN WATSON

John Watson, the founder of John Watson's Institution in Edinburgh, was the son of David Watson, a lawyer in Edinburgh. Watson was born in that city. The year of his birth is uncertain, but it is believed to have been 1705. He was educated for his father's profession, and became a member of the Society of Writers to the Signet, Edinburgh. He rose to some prominence in his profession, and for the last sixteen years of his life occupied the position of Deputy-Keeper in the Society. In 1741 he married Isobel Mudie, the daughter of a merchant in Montrose.

Three years before his death, Watson prepared a Will appointing certain Trustees, and bequeathing a sum of £1300 to be applied, along with certain other securities, "to such pious and charitable uses" in Edinburgh as his Trustees, with the approval of the provost and magistrates of the city, might think fit.

Watson died in 1762, and in the interval between the preparation of the Will and his death he informed his Trustees that "he had made a rash vow which he thought binding on him" to the effect that the bequest would be devoted to "the pious and charitable purpose of preventing child-murder." In consequence of this instruction, the Trustees in 1764 executed a Deed of Destination for the establishment of a Hospital for receiving unmarried women with child, and taking care of their children as foundlings. They at the same time appointed the Principal Keeper, Deputy-Keeper, and Commissioners of the Writers to the Signet to act as

Trustees after the death of the Trustees named in the Will. When Watson's estate was settled, it was found that the residue available for the Hospital amounted to £5000. As the proposal to apply this fund for establishing an In-Lying and Foundling Hospital was clearly an unsuitable one, the Trustees took no steps to carry it out. Instead, they invested the money and allowed it to accumulate, and so carefully did they and their successors watch over it that by 1822 the fund amounted to over £61,000.

In that year the Trustees, on the grounds of "doubts as to the propriety of the institution of such an Hospital," obtained a private Act of Parliament giving them power to acquire ground and to erect on it "an Hospital with all proper appendages for the maintenance and education therein of destitute children, and bringing them up to be useful members of society, and also for assisting in their outset on life such of them as may be thought to deserve and require such aid."

The Hospital was opened in 1828 under the name of John Watson's Institution. The number of foundationers in residence at one time has averaged about 50 boys and 30 girls. The Trustees have appointed a Board of fifteen Directors of the Institution, who are all Commissioners of the Signet in Edinburgh. The Directors have made a regulation that all the children admitted must be fatherless. There are no preferential claims on the ground of name, place of residence, etc., but the children selected have been mainly the orphans of such professional men as lawyers, clergymen, doctors, teachers, and sometimes of farmers, manufacturers, clerks, etc. They are admitted between the ages of

7 and 9, and remain till they are 14 complete. The Directors have power in exceptional cases "to give extra education of a high order," but it is a notable fact in the administration of this Trust that only in a very small proportion of cases have pupils of the Institution continued their education in the University—certainly not nearly so many as might have been expected considering the homes from which the children come.

It is now a century since the Institution was opened, and the funds and property of the Trust have increased to £134,000, and the annual revenue to about £7000. Successive Endowments Commissions have advised considerable alterations in the administration of this Trust. The Colebrooke Commission¹ expressed the opinion that the boy foundationers might be entirely discontinued, as the classes of society from which they were drawn were sufficiently provided for by the institution of Fettes College. The girl foundationers, they said, might be continued, but they should not reside in the Institution but be assisted to reside in their homes while receiving their elementary education in other schools. The Institution, they said, should then be converted into a Residential School for the Higher Instruction of Girls, the education and board being gratuitous to qualified girl foundationers, while a moderate fee would be charged for other pupils. Were this done, they said, an important addition would be made to the educational institutions of the country.

The Balfour of Burleigh Commission,² as a result of independent investigations, agreed in the main with

¹ See its *Third Report* (1875), p. 58.

² See its *Seventh Report* (1890), p. xvii.

JOHN WATSON

these recommendations, but went even further. In view of the relatively small number of endowed schools in Edinburgh for the secondary education of girls, they recommended that John Watson's Institution and Donaldson's Hospital should be amalgamated, and that Donaldson's Hospital building should be converted into a High School for Girls. "Then," said the Commissioners, "we might confer upon girls something like a corresponding benefit to that already enjoyed by boys, and even enable the Governors to give opportunities for higher education which Scottish girls have now to seek in England and abroad." The scheme was not sanctioned by the Education Department, largely because of the opposition of the Governors, more particularly of Donaldson's Hospital. No doubt the whole matter will be considered afresh by the Commissioners appointed under the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act of 1928.

JAMES DONALDSON

James Donaldson, the founder of Donaldson's Hospital, Edinburgh, was born in the West Bow of that city on 10th December 1751. He died at Broughton Hall on the north-eastern outskirts of the capital on 19th October 1830. Two years before he died he prepared a holograph Will. It is a simple document of one paragraph, and states that he bequeathed his whole property, "heritable and personal, to build and found an Hospital for Boys and Girls, to be called Donaldson's Hospital, preferring those of the name of Donaldson

and Marshall—to be after the plan of the Orphan Hospital in Edinburgh and John Watson's Hospital.” He named six Trustees to execute the Will. The value of the property included in the Will amounted at his death to over £210,000, from which had to be deducted various annuities to relations and friends amounting in all to £1290 per annum.

Donaldson was one of the most prominent and successful business men in the Scottish capital in his day, and the owner of an important newspaper of that city.¹ He came of a virile stock. His grandfather, who was for a time Treasurer of the city of Edinburgh, fought at Killiecrankie at the head of a company of troops levied at his own expense. His father, Alexander Donaldson, was the founder of the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, and also carried on a large business as a bookseller in Edinburgh and London. James Donaldson succeeded his father as editor of the *Edinburgh Advertiser* at the age of twenty-three, and he continued to conduct the paper for forty-six years. He was fond of the work, and devoted almost the whole of his attention to it rather than the more lucrative side of his business as a printer and bookseller. On the outbreak of the French Revolution, and during the years of the war with France, crowds used to gather in the vicinity of the premises of the *Advertiser* to get the latest news. The printing-office stood on the Castle Hill, on a site

¹ For facts regarding the life of Donaldson, see the Reports of the various Endowments Commissions, and *A Notable Family of Scots Printers*, by Robert T. Skinner, M.A., House Governor of Donaldson's Hospital (printed privately by T. & A. Constable, Edinburgh, 1928). There is in the Hospital a manuscript giving a full and interesting account of Donaldson by James Campbell, who served as boy and man in Donaldson's printing office in the Castle Hill.

now marked by the steeple of Tolbooth Church. It formed part of a group of old buildings, long since removed, enclosing the Stripping Close—so called because it was in this Close that prisoners who had committed certain offences were stripped before being whipped at the public wells between the Castle Hill and the Nether Bow.

Donaldson was most punctilious in his attention to duty. During all the years of his editorship, says James Campbell, he was not absent but once, and that was on the occasion of his marriage in 1792. His business office was a room in the old family house in West Bow, in which he was born. He was an early riser, and shortly after six o'clock every morning he was waiting in his town house, 95 Princes Street, for the office boy to fetch his letters from the post office. In the summer months he retired to his country house, Broughton Hall, a mile or more north-east of the town, and there the same routine was followed, the apprentices taking turns of carrying letters and papers, and awaiting the answers and corrected proofs. Campbell gives an interesting description of him at this period: "The appearance of Mr. Donaldson was very gentlemanly; full and stout in person; between 55 and 60 years of age; some five feet nine or ten in height; fine, pleasant countenance; head highly powdered, with pigtail; wore a blue coat with yellow metal buttons, light vest, drab underclothes (lower garments), drab gaiters."

James Donaldson was a wealthy man. He inherited from his father the proprietorship of the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, a profitable printing and publishing business, and a fortune of £40,000, in addition to the extensive property at Broughton Hall. By his industry and plain

yet comfortable mode of living he added greatly to his wealth. He was generous and kind to his employees, and no one who entered his service ever thought of leaving it. "Everybody," says Campbell, "coming to his house on an errand or any kind of business was offered beer, with bread and meat, plenty of such being always at hand. . . . He gave away a great deal indiscriminately, being imposed upon often, though he seemed neither to know nor to care. Everybody got something. At least once a week a goodly group of elderly females waited for him, 'as for the rain,' at the office opposite the Mercat Cross in High Street (where his book and publishing business was carried on). He passed through the group with difficulty. The noise commenced, and he would tell them gruffly that they should go away. When he entered the Office the distribution began, until every woman got something, some got one sum, some another. When a stranger appeared he gave her some coppers with an injunction never to come back. Repeating her visits, however, she established the privilege. Marked features of his character were kindness to the poor and suffering, and fondness of the young. When the Blind Asylum was established in the Castle Hill in a house adjoining the *Advertiser* printing-office, Donaldson was one of its most generous friends and benefactors."

The large fortune left by James Donaldson in 1830 to build and endow an Hospital has already been stated. In 1833 his Trustees obtained from the Governors of Heriot's Hospital a feu of 17½ acres, part of the farm of Coates in the parish of St. Cuthbert's, as a site for the Hospital. The Trustees invited three architects to submit plans for an Hospital to accommodate 200 boys

and 200 girls, and after consideration the plan by William Henry Playfair was selected, and it is to him we owe one of the most beautiful examples of Elizabethan architecture in the country. It took nine years to build, and was ready for occupation in October 1850. The total cost, with furnishings, amounted to £124,000.

In 1844 Donaldson's surviving Trustees executed a Deed of Constitution for a Board of Management of twenty-seven Governors and Trustees, nearly half of whom were *ex officio* members. The Deed stated that the Governors were "to choose and admit from time to time such a number of poor children, one half of whom shall be boys and the other half girls, as the funds may at the time be sufficient to maintain, clothe, and educate . . . such children to be taught such useful branches of education as may be considered by the Governors to be suitable to their station, sex, and age." The object was "to fit the boys for trades, and the girls for house-servants." They were to be admitted from 7 to 9 years of age, and to leave on completing 14.

The Governors were not limited by the conditions of the Trust in any way in their selection except by the preference to be given to the names Donaldson and Marshall; accordingly in 1848 they resolved that a portion of the Hospital then being erected should be set apart for the maintenance and education of deaf and dumb boys and girls of the destitute class. Now there are more than 100 such pupils in the Hospital, and it claims to be the only institution in Scotland that boards and educates deaf-mutes and hearing pupils in the same building.

SIR WILLIAM FETTES

The chief endowed school in Scotland conducted on the lines of the great endowed English Public Schools, such as Eton and Harrow, is Fettes College, situated on the lands of Comely Bank on the north side of Edinburgh. The magnificent College and its endowment are due to the munificence of Sir William Fettes of Comely Bank, Baronet. The donor was born in Edinburgh on 25th June 1750, and was the son of William Fettes, a successful merchant in that city. He was educated in the High School of Edinburgh. On leaving school at the age of eighteen, he commenced business as a tea and wine merchant in the High Street of Edinburgh, and afterwards combined with this the business of underwriter, with branches also in Newcastle, Durham, and Leeds. For many years he held large contracts from the Government for the supply of military stores. He was latterly a director and large shareholder in the British Linen Bank.

Despite his very large business interests, Fettes was able to play a considerable part in the public life of the capital. In 1785 he entered the Town Council. In 1800 he was unanimously elected Lord Provost, and held the office for the usual period of that time, namely two years. In 1804 a baronetcy was conferred upon him for his public services, and in 1805 the unusual compliment was paid to him of being elected for a second term of office as Lord Provost. He died on 27th May 1836, only twenty days after the death of his wife.

Six years before his death he drew up a Trust Dis-

position and Settlement making provision for his wife, should she survive him, leaving several private legacies and charitable benefactions, and bequeathing the residue of his property to Trustees, whom he named, to form an Endowment "for the maintenance, education, and outfit of young persons whose parents had either died without leaving sufficient funds for that purpose, or who, from innocent misfortune during their lives, are unable to give suitable education to their children." He instructed his Trustees to erect in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh a building suitable for the purposes he had indicated, and he added: "I hereby invest my Trustees with the most ample and unlimited powers for making all such regulations as to the number of children to be admitted from time to time, the manner in which they are to be educated and fitted out, and for the management of the funds of the said Endowment, as they shall from time to time consider proper and expedient."

The value of Sir William Fettes' bequest was £171,163, invested mainly in landed property the value of which was then steadily increasing. After full and serious consideration the Trustees decided to establish and maintain a school on the lines of the great endowed English Public Schools.¹ They allowed the interest to

¹ The Fettes Trustees have sometimes been criticised for instituting a college for boys in the better class of life rather than an establishment on lines similar to the Hospitals then in existence in Edinburgh and other parts of Scotland. They did so because they thought there were already more than enough of such institutions in Edinburgh, and that it was not desirable to add to them. Besides, they objected to the Hospital system on principle because, they said, it had not been productive of any good, but rather of evil. The Trustees' reasons, as stated by one of their number, Lord Justice-General Inglis, are fully given in the *Third Report of the Colebrooke Commission* (1875), p. 30.

accumulate till the Trust Funds were sufficient for this purpose. In about thirty years it was calculated that there were funds sufficient to build a College and Boarding Houses, and leave a surplus capital of about a quarter of a million pounds, bringing in a gross annual revenue of £8000. They then entered into contracts for the erection of the beautiful Fettes College buildings, according to a design prepared by David Bryce, R.S.A. It is built on a spacious site forming part of Sir William Fettes' estate of Comely Bank.

The College is conducted, as already stated, on English Public School lines. It is divided into a Classical and a Modern side. It is splendidly equipped with chemical and physical laboratories, workshops, playing fields, gymnasium, swimming bath, and shooting range. Fifty boys are admitted as Foundationers after examination, the Trustees taking into account not only scholarship, but all other matters affecting their suitability. They are maintained and educated free of charge. Other boarders are admitted on a fee-paying basis, the cost per session for board and tuition being about £160. In addition to the fifty Foundations there are also competitive Foundation Scholarships—generally two per annum—restricted to boys who have been pupils for at least three years in public or state-aided schools in Scotland, or in Government-inspected Endowed Schools under the terms of the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act, 1882. In addition to board and free education the Foundationers receive an annual sum of £20. The Governors also award a number of Scholarships varying from £20 to £70 per annum, and tenable

LOUIS CAUVIN

by pupils during their attendance at the College. For boys leaving the College there are a number of Exhibitions, varying in value from £60 to £100 a year, to enable them to continue their studies at Oxford, or Cambridge, or Edinburgh University.

LOUIS CAUVIN

Louis Cauvin, the founder of Cauvin's Hospital in Duddingston, Edinburgh, was the son of a French immigrant of the same name and a well-known teacher of French in his day. Louis Cauvin, Junior, was born in 1754 at Piershill, at the foot of the north-eastern slopes of Arthur Seat. At the age of fifteen he proceeded from the High School to the University, and followed for three years the usual curriculum in Arts. The choice of a profession in his case was not difficult. There was a considerable demand for private tuition in French, as modern languages were not yet taught in schools in Scotland. Cauvin's father conducted flourishing classes in the language for many years, and Cauvin *filis*, while still a student, assisted his father, and continued to do so after leaving the University. On the death of his father a few years afterwards, young Cauvin decided to carry on the School of French, and thus support his mother and the younger members of the family—a brother and three sisters. So greatly was he in demand as an instructor that during the greater part of his lifetime his teaching-day extended to twelve or thirteen hours, except on Saturdays, which he reserved as a half-holiday. Among his pupils were

James Mill and Robert Burns—during the poet's stay in Edinburgh in 1787.¹

But not even teaching could absorb the whole of Cauvin's energy. He inherited from his father an interest in agriculture. He rented a large farm in the parish of Duddingston, and built for himself on a site opposite to it the house of Louisfield—now occupied by the Hospital that bears his name. Nothing gave him greater pleasure than to act the part of the country gentleman and to dispense hospitality to his friends and neighbours. He was an early riser, and long before others were astir he went over his farm, surveying his fields, inspecting his stock, issuing his orders for the day, and then after breakfast he set off to town to undertake his heavy teaching duties.

Cauvin never married, and having by his assiduous labours, frugal mode of life, and careful business habits acquired a considerable fortune, he gave up teaching in 1817 at the age of sixty-three, intending to spend his remaining years on his farm. Three years later he purchased a small estate near Inveraray in Argyllshire,

¹ Kay, in his *Edinburgh Portraits*, says regarding Louis Cauvin: "It is worthy of being mentioned that the poet Burns was an intimate friend and a pupil of Cauvin. Burns applied to him, stating his anxiety to learn the French language, but the only hour at which Mr. Cauvin could receive him was at 9 o'clock in the evening, when his ordinary labour ceased for the day, and this, it may be supposed, was not very convenient or agreeable for either of them. However, Mr. Cauvin agreed to receive him at that hour three times a week, and for three months, whatever happened to his engagements, and however agreeably he might be occupied, he regularly attended at the hour appointed; and so diligently and so successfully did he apply himself, that, as Mr. Cauvin has often stated, he made more progress in the acquisition of the language in these three months than any of his ordinary pupils could have done in as many years."

as summer quarters in which he could indulge his favourite sports of shooting and fishing. Unfortunately, he did not long enjoy his leisure, for he died of dropsy in December 1825.

Cauvin was of a hospitable and benevolent nature, and took a special interest in the poor, and in orphans, of whom he had frequently several staying in his house. A few months before his retiral from teaching he drew up a Will in which he bequeathed all his property to Trustees for the endowment of "an Hospital and Charitable Institution for the relief, maintenance, and education of such a number of boys, the sons of respectable but poor teachers, the sons of poor but honest farmers, and the sons of respectable servants in the agricultural line, as my trust funds shall be sufficient adequately to clothe, educate, and maintain." The boys admitted were to be not less than 6 or more than 7 years of age, and they were to be retained till 12. The Hospital was opened in 1833 in Cauvin's old residence of Louisfield, Duddingston. The income has been about £1000 a year, and this has enabled latterly between 15 and 20 boys to be maintained in the Hospital while they were receiving their education in neighbouring schools.

The Commissioners appointed by the 1882 Educational Endowments Act prepared a scheme for closing the Hospital, and for setting aside funds for general education, giving preferential rights to the classes favoured in the Will. In view of the Founder's interest in agriculture, the Commissioners proposed to set aside the remainder of the funds for the promotion of technical education in agriculture—a branch of education, they said, of great importance and poorly

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provided for.¹ The scheme was strongly opposed by the Governors of the Hospital, who were supported by the Town Council, Merchant Company, Trades Council, etc., and, in consequence, was not sanctioned by the Education Department.

¹ *Seventh Report (1890) of the Commissioners under the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act, 1882*, p. 19.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ALLAN GLEN

UNFORTUNATELY very little is known regarding Allan Glen, the founder of the famous school which bears his name. About all we can tell is that he was born in the year 1772—where we cannot tell—that he died at Gourrock in 1850, and was buried in the Southern Necropolis, Glasgow. He was a master-joiner or wright in Glasgow. From small beginnings he gradually worked up a large business, and accumulated considerable wealth. He does not appear to have received much schooling himself, but he was a man of keen perception and independent judgment. His bequest shows that he was an enthusiast for education, and was alive to the necessity of giving a good training in mathematics, science, and technical drawing to those preparing for practical pursuits. He was obviously also a man with keen sympathies for the poor, whether old or young.

By a Trust Disposition and Deed of Settlement dated 13th March 1847, and additions to it in the following year, he left the residue of his means, after paying certain legacies, for three purposes. He said, "It is my wish in the first place that a school for giving a practical education, and for preparing for trades or business from forty to fifty boys, sons of tradesmen or persons in the industrial classes, should be built and endowed. . . . Secondly, that, after providing for a school of the above description, the Trustees should

apply a portion of the principal in erecting an industrial school for the purpose of educating the unfortunate and destitute children wandering about the streets. . . . And thirdly, if any surplus remain, the interest arising therefrom should be applied yearly in giving relief to aged or destitute persons, either men or women, of the industrial classes."

The Trustees found that the School required all the money available, and that accordingly the second and third proposals could not be carried out. The School was opened in May 1853, under the name of "Allan Glen's Institution," in a small self-contained two-storied house that had belonged to Glen, at the corner of North Hanover Street and Cathedral Street, Glasgow. Here free elementary education was given to the beneficiaries as Glen had directed. But the Education Act of 1872 laid upon School Boards the duty of providing universal education up to thirteen years of age, and this rendered changes of a fundamental character necessary in Glen's School. For these reforms legislation was required, and the Allan Glen's Institution Act of 1876 revised and extended the powers and duties of the Trustees, whereby the Institution lost its charity aspect and became a fee-paying Secondary and Science School, with powers to grant scholarships and bursaries. The reorganised School, now called "Allan Glen's School," offered a good secondary and technical education specially suitable for the training of boys intended for industrial, manufacturing, and mercantile pursuits. Instruction was given in English and Modern Languages, Mathematics, Theoretical and Practical Science, etc., but little or no Latin was taught, and no Greek.

JOHN MORGAN

These changes were approved in 1886 by the Commissioners appointed under the Educational Endowments Act of 1882. The Commissioners, however, introduced a scheme instituting the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College, of which Allan Glen's School was to be an integral but educationally distinct part. By a Provisional Order passed in July 1912, Allan Glen's School was transferred to the School Board of Glasgow, and it is conducted by them as a secondary school, the name of the Founder being, under the terms of the Order, retained as the official title of the School. The School is now in new premises in Montrose Street, but the workshops for the various forms of manual instruction are in the old building in North Hanover Street.

In the advanced or technical classes of the School special attention is devoted to the relations of science and art to manufactures and commerce. It was with reference to the education given in this School that Mr. A. J. Mundella, when Minister of Education, said, "These pupils are becoming not only the non-commissioned officers, but the future captains of industry of their country. It is for such purposes that technical education is required."

JOHN MORGAN

Like most "pious founders," John Morgan was of humble birth. His father, Thomas Morgan, owned a small tavern in Kirk Wynd, Dundee, in which citizens used to meet in the evenings, and discuss the exploits

then taking place in the Jacobite Rising of 1745, and drink to "him we daurna name." John, the eldest of a family of eight, was born in 1760, and was educated at the Grammar School of Dundee. Thereafter he entered a lawyer's office, where he acquired the smattering of law which may have had no small share in causing one of the most prolonged litigations in the history of education. A younger brother, Thomas, became a doctor's apprentice, and studied anatomy and surgery for a year at Edinburgh University. About this time tales of enormous fortunes to be made in India were reaching this country, and the East India Company was attracting to its service many of the youths of Scotland fired with the spirit of adventure and enterprise. Thomas obtained an appointment as assistant surgeon under the Company, and John determined to seek his fortune as a merchant in Calcutta. They sailed to India in 1780. After several years in Calcutta, John went into the interior of the country and engaged in the cultivation and sale of indigo. In a short time he was joined by Thomas, and the two brothers in partnership soon made a fortune. In 1812 they returned to their native city, and acquired the mansion-house of Balgray as a home for themselves and their mother, now a widow, and two surviving sisters. After three years they removed to Edinburgh, and Thomas died there a few months later. John lived in Edinburgh till the ripe age of ninety, and was buried in Greyfriars Churchyard.

For a year or two before the death of John Morgan in 1850 his mental powers had given way with old age, and a *curator bonis* was appointed by the Court of Session to take the management of his affairs. His

last surviving sister, Agnes, lived with him until her death in 1848, and among her papers were found three testamentary documents signed by John, two of them in his own handwriting, and in one of them—the latest—his sister had acted as his amanuensis. In the first Will, dated 1836, he directed that his fortune was to be allowed to accumulate till it reached the sum of £1,000,000, and then it was to be invested in the purchase of land in Forfarshire or the Lothians, and his heir—to be designated by himself, for he had no near male relative—was to assume the name of John Morgan. Six years later he cancelled this document, and replaced it by a holograph Will stating: “I hereby annul all hitherto written on the first, second, and third pages of this, and wish to establish in the town of Dundee (*an Hospital strictly in size, the management of the interior of said Hospital, in every way as Heriot’s Hospital in Edinburgh is conducted*)¹, the inhabitants born and educated in Dundee to have the preference of the towns of Forfar, Arbroath, and Montrose, but the inhabitants of any other county or town are excluded.” Evidently on further consideration he came to the conclusion that his money was not sufficient for this purpose, so ten days later he wrote: “I hereby wish only one hundred boys to be admitted to the Hospital at Dundee (*and the structure of the house to be less than that of Heriot’s Hospital*), and to contain one hundred boys in place of one hundred and eighty boys.” Then, finally, in 1846 he signed a Will which had evidently been dictated by him to his sister. In it he bequeathed the life-rent of all his property, real or personal, to his sister, and directed that after the death of himself and his sister, his funds were

¹ The words in italics and within brackets are deleted in the Will.

“to accumulate for ten years, to erect an Hospital in Dundee to educate the poor children of the Nine Trades, the name of Morgan to be preferred, although they do not belong to Dundee. I wish that the Hospital may not be very expensive as it is for poor children.”

On his death various parties claimed the large fortune as next-of-kin. In the name and in the interests of the inhabitants of Dundee, the magistrates, with the co-operation of the Nine Incorporated Trades of Dundee, determined, with the advice of eminent counsel, to enter a claim for the institution of an Hospital, with the property under the care of the *curator bonis*.¹ They accordingly raised an action in the Court of Session in 1857, but the Lord Ordinary found the testamentary writings null and void because of the deletions, and the consequent uncertainty as to the testator's intentions. An appeal to the Second Division of the Court of Session had a similar result. The appeal was carried to the House of Lords, and in 1858 they gave their judgment that as, despite certain informalities, the intention of the testator was clear, “the testamentary writings left by the deceased John Morgan . . . contain a valid legacy and bequest of so much of his personal estate as is necessary to found an Hospital in the town of Dundee to accommodate 100 boys.” It was remitted by the House of Lords to the Court of Session to carry the judgment into effect, and to frame a scheme for the establishment and regulation of the Hospital.

¹ Full details of the lengthy litigation are given in *An Account of the Morgan Hospital*, by P. H. Thoms. Mr. Thoms was at one time Provost of Dundee, and he did more than any other one to prevent the diversion of this valuable legacy from education.

After protracted discussions, the Court of Session decreed, with the consent of the parties in the litigation, that the sum of £73,500 be paid to the Trustees of Mr. Morgan for the erection and endowment of the Hospital. So ended one of the most prolonged and interesting litigations in the whole history of education. The Trustees and Governors at once proceeded to carry out the wishes of the Founder. They acquired an excellent site for the Hospital on the north-east of the town, and erected there a handsome building of French Gothic architecture. The foundation stone was laid in 1863, and the institution was opened in February 1868. There for thirty-one years the Morgan Hospital provided a home for 100 poor boys, and gave them an education similar to that given at the period in ordinary parish schools.

But ideas regarding the value of the Hospital system had altered greatly in the eighteen years since the Founder's death, and the movement for opening up the Hospitals gathered great momentum shortly after the Morgan Hospital was instituted. The Balfour of Burleigh Commission appointed under the 1882 Educational Endowments Act recommended in 1888 that the confined monastic boarding system be departed from, that the Hospital building be sold, that the funds, amounting then to more than £80,000, be used (1) to pay the school fees and books of 100 boy and girl foundationers; (2) to allow the children to live at home and to pay their parents £10 a year as a maintenance allowance for each foundationer; (3) to increase the number of foundationers beyond the original number of 100; (4) to provide £300 for paying the fees of students attending evening classes in Dundee for

higher and technical education; (5) to establish bursaries for students attending evening classes.

The Hospital buildings were sold to Dundee School Board for £15,000—about the amount they originally cost—and after undergoing the necessary alterations were opened in September 1889, under the name of “Morgan Academy,” as a day school for the education of about 650 boys and girls. Since then the institution has undergone great extensions and alterations, and the reconstructed building was opened by Lord Haldane in September 1915. The Morgan Academy, with an enrolment of some 1100 boys and girls, is one of the great secondary schools of the country. To inspire self-reliance in its pupils, the Academy has adopted the motto of its Founder, “God has enough”—a short version of the French proverb, “Si vous n’avez avoir, Dieu a assez.”

JAMES DICK

The Dick Bequest differs from other educational endowments in Scotland in several important respects—in the largeness of the sum concerned (£127,000), in being devoted to the improvement of education over a wide area rather than to any particular institution or school, and in being intended to benefit directly the teachers rather than the pupils. James Dick, the founder of the Bequest, was born in the burgh of Forres, Morayshire, on 14th November 1743.¹ His father,

¹ For details regarding the life of James Dick, see the Appendix of the *Third Report of the Commissioners on Endowed Schools and Hospitals (Scotland)*, 1875; the Report in 1854 by Professor Allan Menzies,

Alexander Dick, a shoemaker, seems to have given his son a good education. The lad trudged daily over two miles to Rafford Parish School, where he was taught by George Fiddes, an excellent example of the parish schoolmasters who did so much for the education of Scotland till the introduction of the School Board system in 1872.

On leaving school Dick was apprenticed to his father's trade, but at the age of nineteen he sailed to the West Indies to enter a mercantile house in Kingston, Jamaica. There his success was rapid, and in twenty years he made a considerable fortune, and returning to England settled in London. There he lived for the next forty-six years, and made large additions to his fortune by judicious investments. Dick died on 24th May 1828, and bequeathed nearly the whole of his fortune to the assistance of the parochial schoolmasters of his native county of Moray, and of the neighbouring counties of Banff and Aberdeen. No doubt he was drawn to these men by his recollection of the character and narrow circumstances of his old parochial teacher at Rafford, and his observation of the many distinguished pupils reared by the parochial school system.

The chief objects and conditions of the Bequest, according to the Will drawn up by the Founder a year before his death, are: "The maintenance and assistance of the country parochial schoolmasters in the three counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, excluding the royal burghs, it being my wish to form a fund for the

Clerk and Visitor to the Dick Bequest; and *Men of the North-East, and Other Addresses*, by Robert T. Skinner, Visitor to the Bequest from 1916 to 1929.

benefit of that neglected though useful class of men, and to add to their present very trifling salaries. . . . That the income thereof (*i.e.*, of the Bequest) be applied in such way as not in any manner to relieve the heritors or other persons from their legal obligations to support the parochial schoolmasters, or to diminish the extent of such support. . . . That the Trustees for the time being shall have full power to pay and distribute the income of the said fund from time to time in such proportions, and, generally to dispose of the said income among the teachers in such manner as shall seem most likely to encourage active schoolmasters, and gradually to elevate the literary character of the parochial schoolmasters and schools aforesaid. . . . And I particularly recommend the Trustees to pay great attention to the qualifications and diligence of the several parochial schoolmasters . . . in preparing youths for the said Colleges (Universities), taking care at the same time that the common branches of education are properly attended to at the said schools."

By proceedings in Chancery after Dick's death it was decided that the administration of the Bequest be vested in the Keeper, Deputy-Keeper, Treasurer, and eight representatives of the Society of Writers to the Signet, Edinburgh. The Bequest came into operation at Martinmas 1832, the capital sum then being about £113,000, the annual income from which has fluctuated with the rise and fall of land securities in Scotland between £3300 and £5600. In administering the Bequest the Trustees have kept steadily in view the three chief objects stated in the Will—the encouragement of literary attainment in the teachers of the three

counties, the promotion of efficiency in teaching, and the literary advancement of the pupils in the schools. The details of administration and the conditions for participation in grants have had to be modified from time to time because of changes in the national system produced by Acts of Parliament and the Codes of Education Department.

To ensure the "elevation of the literary character" of the schoolmasters, the Trustees for over half a century imposed a stringent two days' written examination on all applicants, whether University graduates or not, for participation in the Bequest. The examination covered all branches of classical, literary, and scientific education, and so high was the standard required for a pass that University graduates frequently failed in their first attempts. A pass with distinction in the examination was rewarded by a higher annual grant to the teacher, and exceptional distinction was marked by a special monetary award. This examination test of the teachers was abolished in 1890, University graduation or other evidence of sufficient scholarship being accepted in place of it.

To ensure the "activity" and practical efficiency of the schoolmaster, a personal examination of the school was conducted, usually once in two years, by a Visitor appointed by the Trust, and the amount of the annual grant depended upon the appearance made by the pupils not only in elementary subjects, but more particularly in the higher branches. As all schools are now reported on by H.M. Inspectors, and as it is undesirable to duplicate examinations, the personal examination of the schools by the Visitor of the Trust was dropped in 1890, and since then the results in

elementary and advanced subjects, as attested by the Inspectors of the Education Department, form the basis, in the main, for assessing the annual grant to the schoolmaster from the Bequest.

When the Dick Bequest came into being there were 152 schools in the parishes in Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, and 137 of them fulfilled the conditions of the Bequest, and their Headmasters were awarded annual grants varying from £23 to £49 according to the number of pupils enrolled and the other factors just mentioned. When the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 abolished the parochial school system and greatly increased the number of schools in the three counties of the grade of the old parish schools, it became necessary to make a selection of schools for admission to the benefits of the Bequest. This was done by making the number of Dick Bequest schools in a parish vary with the population of the parish. In order to carry out the Founder's injunction to prevent the Bequest from being made a means of "relieving the heritors or other persons from their legal obligation to support the parochial schoolmasters," the Trustees have always made it a primary condition of participation in the Bequest that the school authorities pay a certain minimum salary according to the size and character of the school, and they have increased the grant in proportion to any payment of salary above the prescribed minimum.

It is more than a century since James Dick died,¹

¹ On 17th November 1928 a bronze tablet to the grateful memory of James Dick, subscribed for by the teachers in the three counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, was unveiled in the Academy of Forres, his native place.

and during that time the Bequest he left has raised the standard of the work done in the schools in the three favoured north-eastern counties to a degree certainly not excelled by those in any other part of Scotland. These schools have solved probably more than any others the problem of "a career open to talent and accessible to the poorest." They have enabled boys and girls to rise to positions in which they have rendered valuable service to their country. Rural schools far from centres of population have been a special object of care to the Trustees of the Bequest, and their regulations have been so framed as to encourage advanced instruction in these remote schools, thus making it possible for boys and girls of promise to proceed to central Secondary Schools, or even straight to the Universities. The school authorities have been encouraged by the operations of the Bequest to secure the services of the best-educated and most competent class of teachers, not only as heads but right through the schools, and the pupils from the lowest to the highest have experienced the advantage.

No doubt the conditions attached to this valuable Bequest will undergo modifications. The raising of the age of compulsory schooling to fifteen will necessitate that. Moreover, the introduction of Minimum National Scales of Salaries in all grades of schools has a direct bearing on the main purpose of the Founder. The Bequest will come automatically under the review of the Executive Commission set up by the Education Endowments (Scotland) Act, 1928, but it is to be hoped that it will be so utilised as to continue to be the means of securing the services

of highly qualified men teachers for these remote schools.¹

¹ A northern Trust similar in many respects to the Dick Bequest is the Milne Bequest. It consists of £48,000 left by Dr. Milne, President of the Medical Board of Bombay, on his death in 1841. He gave instructions in his Will that the sum of £20 was to be bestowed annually on each of the most deserving parish schoolmasters in the county of Aberdeen, and the parish of Banchory-Devenick in Kincardine. The object of the Bequest, Dr. Milne said, was to improve the position of the parish schoolmaster, in order to induce men of ability and education to engage in that important work. A full account of the Milne Bequest, and of the subsequent changes that have been made in the administration of it, is given in *The Rise and Progress of Scottish Education*, pp. 118-19.

CHAPTER NINE

ANDREW CARNEGIE

MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE is the greatest educational benefactor of all time, whether we consider the gigantic scale of his gifts or the fervour of spirit in which they were made. During his lifetime he gave altogether more than £70,000,000, mainly to education in Great Britain and America, and in addition he bequeathed in his Will huge sums to similar purposes.

Mr. Carnegie was born in humble circumstances in Dunfermline on 25th November 1835. His father was a handloom weaver, and two of the things that characterised the members of that trade in Scotland at that time were their thirst for education and their devotion to Chartism.¹ It was common for them to club together and pay the wages of one of their number in turn to read aloud to them while the others plied the shuttles. One of Andrew's early recollections was of his father and two other weavers carrying their books in their aprons to found the first public library in Dunfermline. As he afterwards said, "I have never

¹ William Cobbett had a great following among the weavers of Dunfermline. Andrew Carnegie's grandfather, Thomas Morrison, contributed an article on "Head-ication versus Hand-ication" to Cobbett's paper *The Register*. In an editorial note Cobbett remarked, "I can safely say that the communication published from Thomas Morrison, Dunfermline, is the best communication I ever printed in *The Register*."

heard of a lineage for which I would exchange that of the library-founding weaver."

Andrew's father and mother emigrated to America in 1847, taking with them their family consisting of Andrew, aged twelve, and Thomas, aged four. They settled first in Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, and soon afterwards in Pittsburg. Andrew started work as a bobbin-boy in a cotton factory. This occupation was not much to his taste, and he soon got work as a telegraph-messenger. Promotion came quickly. The manager afterwards said of him, "I liked the boy's looks, and it was easy to see that though he was little he was full of spirit. He had not been with me a full month when he began to ask whether I would teach him to telegraph. I found him an apt pupil. He spent all his spare time in practice, sending and receiving by sound, and not by tape as was largely the custom in those days. Pretty soon he could do as well as I could at the key, and then his ambition carried him beyond the drudgery of messenger work."

When Andrew Carnegie was fourteen his father died, and the lad had to support his mother and young brother. By his perseverance he rose first to be telegraph operator in the Pennsylvania Railroad's train-dispatch office at Pittsburg—a highly responsible post for one so young. Before he was twenty he found himself superintendent of the western division of the Pennsylvania Railroad at a large salary. The beginning of his enormous fortune was his introduction of sleeping-cars for railways. Then he and one or two friends purchased lands in Oil Creek, and within ten years their profits from the oil-wells was 400 per cent. and the property became of immense value. Another

investment was even more fortunate. Carnegie saw that wooden bridges were quite unsuited for heavy railway traffic, so he set about forming a small Company for building bridges of iron—the Keystone Bridge Works, with a modest capital of £1200. In a few years the value of the capital had increased to £200,000. The Company required iron, and he saw that there would soon be a similar demand all over America. Not only that; he foresaw that steel would in course of a little time take the place of iron because of its superior strength and durability. We were, in fact, he said, entering the Age of Steel. So on a visit to Britain he made inquiries into the cheapened method of manufacturing steel by the Bessemer process, and on his return to Pittsburg he started steel-rail mills at Pittsburg. He bought up several rival works, and by 1888 he had under his control seven distinct works, forming the largest steel-producing concern in the world. They were served by their own coal and iron fields, with hundreds of miles of private railway, and a line of lake steamers.

In 1901 he expressed his desire to retire from business, and the various Companies he had done so much to develop were amalgamated with the United States Steel Corporation, a Trust formed by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. The fortune Mr. Carnegie took out of the transaction was approximately £100,000,000. This he had accumulated by his wonderful business capacity, his high conception of duty, his tireless energy, and his ability to foresee the enormous development in important and essential industries in the country of his adoption.

He was now sixty-six years of age, but it was impossible for him to lead a life of contented ease. He

acquired Skibo Castle in Sutherlandshire, and made his home partly there and partly in New York in order to be able to enter in both continents upon what was, in many respects, the most difficult work of his life—the right use of his vast fortune for the good of his fellow-men. He had previously stated the responsibilities of the wealthy in a book published by him in 1900, and called *The Gospel of Wealth*. The duty of the man of wealth, he said, is “to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance, to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and, after doing so, to consider all surplus revenues which come to him as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to provide the most beneficial results for the community—the man of wealth thus becoming the trustee and agent for his poorer brethren.”

In giving effect to this doctrine in his own life, he possessed two characteristics which helped him greatly. One was his clear perception of the danger of doing harm by the wrong use of money. Many years before he retired from business he stated his views on this point in an article contributed by him to the *North American Review*: “The main consideration should be to help others by helping them to help themselves, to provide a part of the means by which those who desire to improve may do so; and to give those who desire to rise the aid by which they may rise; to assist, but rarely or never do all. Neither the individual nor the race is improved by almsgiving.”

The other characteristic was his clear perception of

the things that are calculated to contribute to human happiness and the progressive well-being of the whole community. He had what Lord Morley happily called "a spacious feeling for the great objects of the world." So, with his discriminating Scottish sagacity, he began with Public Libraries as the best means of helping any community. His method was in each case to build and equip the Library, but only on condition that the local authority provided the site and cost of maintenance, so that the taint of charity might be dispelled. The Public Library, he said, was as much a part of the city property as its public schools, and was indeed an adjunct to these. So he established Free Public Libraries not only all over Britain and America, but in the islands of the Pacific, of the Indian Ocean, and of the Caribbean Sea. He established in all 2811 Free Libraries at a total cost of £12,000,000. Scotland has 147 of these Libraries. This work alone has made Mr. Carnegie's name a household word all over the world.

Along with books Mr. Carnegie put great stress on the influence of music in educating a people. To listen to music was to him a religious experience. He called it "the sacred tongue of God." So he helped in the purchase of organs and other musical instruments all over the English-speaking world. The total number of churches he assisted in the purchase of organs was 7689, of which 1005 are in Scotland.

The gifts Mr. Carnegie made to his native land are only a small fraction of his total benefactions, but they are princely in their munificence. In 1901 he gave a sum of two millions sterling to be placed in trust, and one half of the income was to be used for the improvement and expansion of the four Scottish

Universities, and for extending the opportunities of post-graduate study and research. The other half of the income was to be devoted to defray the whole or part of the class fees of students of Scottish birth or extraction. Mr. Carnegie placed the fund under the administration of a Board called "The Carnegie Trustees for the Universities of Scotland." The fund has now increased to £2,674,000, and the interest on it amounts to fully £120,000 per annum, after allowing for management expenses.

Grants by the Trust towards the extension and improved equipment of the Universities are fixed on a quinquennial basis, so that they know each year in advance the amount of assistance from this source on which they can calculate. For the quinquennium 1925-30, St. Andrews University has been granted £38,000, Glasgow £60,000, Aberdeen £40,000, Edinburgh £60,500, and Extra-Mural Institutions of higher learning £32,725, payable in each case in five equal annual instalments. In the year 1927-28 the four University Centres received the sum of £18,344 for the encouragement of post-graduate study and research. No part of the operations of the Trust is doing more good than this. It is making, from time to time, most valuable contributions to the extension of knowledge, it is spreading a spirit of research in the Universities, and it is furnishing a supply of trained experts for the staffs of the Universities and for the industrial and commercial undertakings of the country. In the same year assistance for the payment of class fees was given to 4884 students, or about 49 per cent. of the full-time students in the Universities. The average annual grant per student was about £12. It is

impossible to over-estimate the beneficent influence the Carnegie Universities Fund is exerting on higher education in Scotland.

Mr. Carnegie's next thought was for the home of his childhood, Dunfermline. In 1903 he handed over to Trustees for the benefit of the people of the town a sum of over half a million pounds, and also a valuable estate called Pittencrieff Glen near the centre of the town. In a letter to the Trustees nominated by him, Mr. Carnegie said, "The gifts are to be used to bring into the monotonous lives of the toiling masses of Dunfermline more of sweetness and light; to give them—especially the young—some charm, some happiness, some elevating conditions of life which residence elsewhere would have denied." The Trustees have laid out in the Glen large and beautiful grounds—Pittencrieff Park; they have provided excellent concerts and open-air music, a number of District Institutes containing libraries, reading-rooms and indoor games, a games park, a gymnasium and swimming bath, a Home for delicate children, a College of Hygiene and Physical Culture; they have instituted Schools of Crafts and Horticulture; and they have given bursaries to Dunfermline High School and the Universities. Their operations, indeed, are continually extending as their resources allow.

Passing over other Carnegie endowments specially designed for the benefit of Scotland, there is the benefaction which supplements and sums up all the others. In 1913 Mr. Carnegie gave two million pounds to found The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust for the purpose of carrying on, as far as might be necessary, his benefactions for the provision of libraries, church

organs, etc., and of instituting other benefactions suitable to the changing conditions of the community. In the Trust Deed he gave injunctions that the income of the Trust "shall be applied for the improvement of the wellbeing of the masses of the people of Great Britain and Ireland, by such means as . . . the Trustees may from time to time select as best fitted from age to age for securing these purposes, remembering that new needs are constantly arising as the masses advance." The United Kingdom Trust have instituted rural libraries extensively over Britain and Ireland, they have published the works of modern British composers, they have prepared a complete library edition of the Church Music of the Tudor and Elizabethan Period, they have helped to build and equip Welfare Centres and have prepared reports by recognised experts on the means of diminishing infantile mortality, they have re-built the National Library for the Blind, and have provided many new books in the Braille and Mond type for the use of those thus afflicted.

These are only a few samples of Mr. Carnegie's munificence towards Scotland. He devoted his marvellous energy and his wealth unstintedly for the realisation of his ideals for the diffusion of elevating influences among all classes, and for the provision of wholesome pleasures for the masses of the people.

Few details of a biographical character need be added. He married in 1887, and had one daughter. Notwithstanding his absorption, first in his huge business concerns and later in the proper disposal of the wealth he had amassed, he found time to write a number of books and articles on social subjects, and on what may be called his philosophy of wealth.

ANDREW CARNEGIE

Among these may be mentioned: *Triumphant Democracy*, *The Gospel of Wealth*, *Round the World*, *The Empire of Business*, *Life of James Watt*, *Problems of To-day*, and a highly interesting *Autobiography*. They show that he had a ready pen as well as a penetrating, alert, and imaginative mind.

Mr. Carnegie died on 11th August 1919 in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He was one of the great men of his time, and truly his good deeds live after him.

PART IV
EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER TEN

ANDREW BELL

DR. ANDREW BELL was born at St. Andrews on 27th March 1753. He was the second son of a worthy bailie and wig-maker of that town. It was the period when powdered periwigs were the fashion among men of the upper and professional classes, and Bell senior could be seen any morning carrying to his clients a wig in either hand so that its powder and carefully arranged curls might not be disturbed.

At sixteen Andrew Bell left school and proceeded to St. Andrews University. He did well in several of his classes, and showed considerable talent for mathematics and natural philosophy. He seems to have been a favourite student of the professor in the latter subject, who used to say to him, "Mind what I say, Andrew, pursue your studies and they will make your fortune. I never knew a man fail of success in the world if he excelled in one thing. Persevere in your studies; mind this one thing and you will be a great man." All his life Bell impressed that advice on others.

Arrived at the end of his University course, Bell had to consider what his work in life should be. He saw that in his own country, with his narrow means and lack of influence, his advancement would be likely to be difficult and slow. He looked to the colonies as a more promising sphere, and having received an offer of a post, apparently of an educational character,

in Virginia he thought it advisable to accept it. Early in 1774 he set sail from Glasgow to America. Five years later we find him acting as private tutor in the family of a Virginian merchant, at a salary of £200 a year paid "sometimes in money, sometimes in tobacco, and sometimes not at all." At the same time he was engaging on his own account, in commercial transactions, chiefly in American currency and tobacco. After a stay of seven years, during which he had saved about £900, he made up his mind to return to this country. After various dangers, including shipwreck on an uninhabited part of the American coast, he reached Gravesend three months after setting sail.

He then set out for Scotland, travelling sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot, and sometimes by stage or chance conveyances. Shortly after his return to St. Andrews he had an amusing adventure, which is related in the poet Southey's *Life of Bell*.¹ A quarrel arose, on some trifling cause, between Bell and an English student named Crookenden. A challenge followed, and a duel was arranged. The combatants met early in the morning on the Witch Hill to the west of the town. The ground was paced, and the pistols charged and delivered to the principals. Lots were drawn for the first fire, and by good fortune the lot fell to Bell. He was short-sighted from youth, and always rather hasty in action. On wheeling round when the signal was given, he pointed his pistol in the wrong direction, and fired at the seconds instead of his antagonist. Happily the shot missed them, and a burst of laughter followed. The seconds took advantage of the good-humour, and saved themselves

¹ *Life of Andrew Bell*, Vol. I, p. 52.

from the chance of a second mistake by reconciling the combatants, who are said to have become good friends.

Bell opened a class in mathematics, but the financial result was scanty and precarious. He thought of returning to America and perhaps settling there as a minister of the gospel, but nothing came of the project. He entered Holy Orders in the Church of England, and obtained a curacy at Leith at a salary of 50 guineas a year. This he resigned, and sailed for Calcutta in February 1787. With a view to his advancement in India he applied to St. Andrews University for a doctor's degree, which apparently was conferred in certain cases upon application. He was successful, and the degree of M.D. was conferred upon him, although he had never studied medicine.¹

The ship touched at Madras, where, it so happened, there was a project on foot to establish a Military Male Orphan Asylum for the Presidency. The committee in charge were on the outlook for a headmaster for the school, and learning of Dr. Bell's qualifications they thought him "a person eminently qualified to superintend the education of children," and they got the consent of the legislature of the Presidency to appoint him to the post. Other appointments and

¹ See Southey's *Life of Andrew Bell*, Vol. I, p. 99. Mr. Dempster, the Member of Parliament for St. Andrews, had recommended Bell for the degree of Doctor of Laws. Principal M'Cormick explained in a letter to Mr. Dempster the reason why the degree of M.D. was awarded instead: "I found that the University could not in consistency with certain regulations grant any other degree than that which I procured. It is the degree they always give to men eminent for their literary qualifications without following any professional line. . . . The degree of LL.D. they reserve, it seems, for persons of another description, men in the highest rank, who have been eminently serviceable to their country or to the University."

money flowed in with great rapidity. Before the end of the year he found himself, in addition to being headmaster of the Orphan Asylum, chaplain to one regiment and deputy-chaplain to other three—all offices with good pay and little work. He at the same time delivered courses of lectures on natural philosophy which were largely attended by fashionable audiences. His first course brought him £360. He delivered a course in Calcutta which was equally successful, and secured for him the friendship of the Governor, Lord Cornwallis. His friends in England too were exerting themselves on his behalf, and the result was that one appointment was bestowed on him after another. As Southey remarks, "It must be confessed that, at this time, Dr. Bell partook largely of the blessings of pluralism." In addition to two full chaplainships, he held five deputy-chaplainships and "the superintending of the undertaker's office¹ . . . Kehama, who was in eight places at once, was a type of Dr. Bell at this time. Some of his offices may have been sinecures, but there is good proof among his papers that none of them were sine salaries."²

Meanwhile the Orphan Asylum had been established in a deserted fort some miles from Madras. The boys were chiefly the sons of European fathers and Indian mothers. They were forbidden to have intercourse with their "maternal relatives." They were taught the ordinary branches of elementary

¹ Southey explains that "the chaplain was the person by whom funerals were furnished, and the undertaker was his functionary." The allowances paid to the chaplain on the death of Europeans and wealthy natives were a source of considerable gain to him.

² Southey's *Life of Andrew Bell*, Vol. I, p. 109.

education. Dr. Bell was greatly interested in his work as superintendent, and he refused to accept any salary for it, although it was heavier than all his other offices put together. His difficulty was the inefficiency of his assistants. Their teaching was poor and their discipline weak. They had no knowledge of their duties or liking for them, and they opposed rather than supported his efforts.

Things were in this unsatisfactory condition when, in one of his morning rides, he happened to pass a Malabar school conducted in the open air as usual. The children were seated on the ground, and the youngest were writing with their fingers in sand which had been spread before them for the purpose. The value of such teaching flashed across his mind, and he galloped home repeating to himself, "Eureka, Eureka." He gave instructions to the master of the lowest classes to teach the alphabet and writing in this way, by means of sand strewn upon a board. The teacher declared it was impossible, and his incapacity was the means of driving Dr. Bell to his "great discovery" in education, to the spread and development of which he devoted in after years all his means and ability. He commenced at once to put the new method into operation. Among his pupils was a bright little fellow of eight years of age, the son of a private soldier. He trained him to teach the youngest children by the new method, and the result was that the alphabet was much better taught than ever before, and the little fellow was made the permanent teacher of that class. Other boys were selected because of their aptitude to learn and to teach, and were appointed assistant teachers or monitors of some of the lower classes.

MAKERS OF SCOTTISH EDUCATION

The method of making one boy teach others spread gradually throughout the school, and the result was found to be not only progress in the various subjects, but moral improvement. For purposes of instruction Dr. Bell and his adult assistants were virtually superseded. Their duty was now not to teach but to look after the different departments of the institution, to see that the various daily tasks were performed, and to take care of the boys in and out of the school. That was about 1791, and Dr. Bell went on developing step by step the method of education by boy-teachers, which he believed to be capable of universal application, and able "to alter the character of a race of men." The only difficulty he found to lie with his men-teachers. They set their faces obstinately against the new system, which Dr. Bell was no less resolutely determined to maintain.

In spite of all difficulties, Dr. Bell persevered in developing his system of Mutual Instruction, or the Madras System as he called it. "I have considered," he wrote, "as a peculiar duty which I owe to humanity, to train up as far as I can, while my health and situation will permit me, such a number of teachers in the school itself as may be necessary to facilitate the labour, and promote the success of those who come after me." Compelled reluctantly by ill-health to leave the work of which he was so fond, he sailed for home in August 1796. His health was such that he had to give up all idea of being able to return to India. He had amassed a fortune of some £26,000. In his illness he had a feeling of satisfaction that he had been able to accomplish an important task. "I think," he said in a letter to a friend, "I have made great progress in a very difficult attempt, and almost wrought a complete

change in the morals and character of a generation of boys." Besides, he had discovered, he thought, an universal method of instruction.

In 1798 Dr. Bell published a Report on the Orphan Asylum entitled, "An experiment in Education made at the Male Orphan Asylum at Madras, suggesting a System by which a School or Family may teach itself under the superintendence of the Master or Parent." To his publisher he wrote: "You will mark me for an enthusiast, but if you and I live a thousand years we shall see this system of education spread over the world." Soon afterwards he travelled north to Scotland, and made continual visits up and down the country, wherever he could hear that his system was being used. He tried, without success, to get it introduced in the Edinburgh schools, and visited many of them for that purpose.

In 1801 Dr. Bell was presented to the Rectory of Swanage in Dorsetshire, the living of which was upwards of £600 a year. He set himself to spread his system of education in the schools in the parish, and soon it was in operation in thirteen day schools and three Sunday schools. He superintended personally the experiment in one rather disorderly school in the parish. Of the result he wrote to a friend: "I know not how to write you what is the conversation of all here. It is like magic; order and regularity started up all at once. In half an hour more was learned than had been done during the whole day before. . . . They quit the school at dismissal with reluctance, and they return before their time to renew the competition. Several boys ardently exerted themselves in the hope of being appointed teachers."

There has been a good deal of controversy in educational circles regarding whether the credit of discovering the monitorial system should be given to Bell or Joseph Lancaster. There can be no question that priority rests with the former, for he had worked out the system in Madras and had published his Report on it before Lancaster had commenced his educational work. Unfortunately a feeling of jealousy arose some years afterwards between them, and they were perhaps both unduly eager to write their names across the system of popular education. At any rate, time has shown that the Madras or Monitorial System was not the heaven-sent discovery it was supposed by its originators to be, and it has long since been discarded and left behind in the path of educational progress. Dr. Bell's friends—the poets Southey, Wordsworth and Coleridge—strongly supported the Madras System. No doubt Bell's strenuous advocacy of the system aroused an interest in education, and helped to produce an improvement in it. Moreover, it fostered habits of self-help and a feeling of responsibility, but it has not stood the test of time.

In 1818 the Archbishop of Canterbury offered Bell the post of Dean of Hereford Cathedral, and in the following year promoted him to the corresponding post in Westminster Abbey. At the end of 1830 Dr. Bell went to live at Cheltenham, and this proved to be his final move. He was now seventy-seven years of age, and he was suffering from an affection of the throat which caused difficulty in articulation, and even in breathing. He was becoming anxious about the disposal of his property. His first intention was to leave his whole fortune to St. Andrews University

on condition that his Madras System of education was carried out in all the classes, for in his opinion it was as applicable to University studies as to elementary education. The authorities of the University rightly declined to accept a bequest, however magnificent, with such absolute conditions attached to it. Dr. Bell then determined to found schools on his principles, namely one large Madras College in St. Andrews and five Madras Schools in large towns in Scotland, hoping thereby to propagate his cherished ideas on education.

After many changes in his plans, he finally, in 1831, executed two Deeds. One conveyed in trust to the Provost of St. Andrews, the two ministers of the Town Church, the Sheriff-Depute of Fife, and their successors in office, the sum of £120,000 to be employed in the erection and maintenance of schools on the Madras or Monitorial System. Five-twelfths of this sum (£50,000) was to be devoted to founding a Madras College in St. Andrews¹; one-twelfth part (£10,000)

¹ Madras College was opened in 1833. It has developed into an important secondary school for boys and girls, at which free education and certain bursaries are given to natives of St. Andrews. In July 1928 the Court of Session passed a Provisional Order empowering the Governors of the College to transfer the school to Fife Education Authority. According to the new arrangements, the school will be under a Committee of Management, of which three will be appointed by Fife Education Authority. The Authority will retain in its own hands the appointment, dismissal, and payment of the teachers. The transference became necessary owing to lack of funds (the endowment consisted of approximately £28,000, with a net income of £1100) to meet the requirements of the school, which was being attended by an increasing number of secondary pupils. Moreover, it was no longer necessary for the Bell Trustees to provide bursaries, free education, and books, as Education Authorities have power under the 1918 Education Act to grant such assistance in cases in which it is deemed necessary.

to be paid to the Municipal Authority in Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Inverness,¹ and to the Trustees of the Royal Naval School, near London, for the establishment in each case of schools on the Madras system; and one-twelfth part to the Provost and Town Council of St. Andrews, the interest of which was to be applied by the Council "towards the moral and religious improvement of the city."

The other Deed conveyed the residue—amounting at the time to about £25,000—of the estate to other Trustees for the purpose of "maintaining, carrying forward, and following up the system of education introduced by me, according to circumstances and occasion." The Trustees at different times have contributed considerable sums to schools for the purpose stated. This was no longer necessary when it became, in 1872, a statutory obligation of School Boards to support schools. A residue of £18,000 remained in the hands of the Trustees, and this sum they contributed, after getting the necessary powers, as part of the endowment of a Bell Professorship in the Theory, History, and Practice of Education in Edinburgh and St. Andrews University, and at the same time suggested that at a suitable part of his course the professor might refer to the Madras System of education, and the aim of Dr. Bell in originating and promoting it. The two Chairs were instituted in 1876, and they were the first Professorships of Education in Great Britain.

¹ When the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act came into force these municipalities transferred the Madras or Bell School and its endowment to the respective School Boards.

ANDREW BELL

Early in 1832 Dr. Bell's condition grew steadily worse, and his stirring and courageous life came quietly to an end on 27th January 1832. He was laid to rest in Westminster Abbey, of which he was Prebendary.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

ROBERT OWEN

THE Infant School movement in Britain originated with Robert Owen at New Lanark about 1800. It arose from an effort to check the evil effects of the factory system, especially upon poor and immature children. In order to provide a sufficient supply of cheap labour, children of five and six years of age were procured from poorhouses and public charities throughout the country. They were apprenticed sometimes as long as nine years, during which they worked from eleven to thirteen hours a day, and at the end of the period they were set free to swell the ignorant mass of the population. In a series of Essays entitled *A New View of Society*, Owen described the hard lot of these children. "It is not to be supposed that children so young could remain, with intervals for meals only, from six in the morning until seven in the evening in constant employment on their feet within cotton mills, and afterwards acquire much proficiency in education. And so it proved, for many of them became dwarfs in body and mind, and some of them deformed. Their labour through the day and their education at night became so irksome that many of them continually ran away, and almost all looked forward with impatience and anxiety to the expiration of their apprenticeship of seven, eight, and nine years, which generally ex-

pired when they were from thirteen to fifteen years old.”¹

Robert Owen was born at Newtown in North Wales on 14th May 1771. His father was a small shopkeeper in that town, and Owen had to leave school for work at nine years of age, and at ten he was apprenticed to a draper. After serving as a journeyman in Manchester for about four years, he started with another man to make machinery for cotton spinning. The venture proved successful, but when only nineteen years of age he sold his share in order to become manager of a cotton mill with 500 hands. Through his energy and business capacity and his rare skill in managing workmen, the mill became one of the best establishments of the kind in the country. At the age of twenty-three he formed the Chorlton Twist Company in Manchester. During frequent visits to Scotland on business he made the acquaintance of David Dale, a Glasgow merchant who, along with Richard Arkwright, had built large cotton-spinning mills near Lanark, where the necessary power was obtained from the neighbouring Falls of Clyde. Owen induced his partners in Manchester to purchase the mills from Dale. Shortly afterwards—September 1799—he married Miss Dale, and settled as manager and part-owner of the mills at New Lanark.

Here he began a series of social and educational experiments which made New Lanark famous throughout Europe. The mills had been in operation about sixteen years before his Company acquired them. As the district in which they were situated was sparsely populated, a village of tenements had been built and the flats had been let out by Mr. Dale to the factory

¹ *New View of Society*, Second Essay, p. 13.

hands at low rents, but only the most degraded class of the population would come to them. Most of the families lived in only one room. Because of these conditions, and of gross mismanagement of the whole concern by those in charge, Owen tells us that "lawlessness, vice, and immorality prevailed — idleness, poverty, crime, sickness." The conditions were not quite so bad among the pauper children, who had been brought mostly from Edinburgh and Glasgow. Mr. Dale had spared no expense on their behalf. They were well housed and clad and fed, but, says Owen, "to defray the expense of these well-advised arrangements, and support the establishment generally, it was absolutely necessary that the children should be employed in the mills from six in the morning to seven in the evening, summer and winter, and after these hours their education commenced. The directors of the public charities, from mistaken economy, would not consent to send the children under their care to cotton mills unless the children were received by the proprietors at the ages of six, seven, or eight. And Mr. Dale was under the necessity of accepting them at those ages or of stopping the manufactory which he had commenced."¹

It was this degraded and demoralised working population of some 1500 adults and 500 children that Owen set himself to elevate. He improved the houses, sold food and goods to the workers at little more than cost price, placed the sale of drink under the strictest supervision, and by various other means in a year or two converted the older members of the community to habits of industry, sobriety, and cleanliness. Owen

¹ *New View of Society*, Second Essay, p. 13.

stated in the *New View* his fundamental belief "that any character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by applying certain means, which are to a great extent at the command and under the control, or easily made so, of those who possess the government of nations."¹

It follows from this that education is at the root of a nation's social problems. Hence "the governing powers of all countries should establish rational plans for the education and general formation of the character of their subjects. These plans will be devised to train children from their infancy to think and act aright. . . . Co-existent with these mental attainments, plans will also be devised to train children to those habits which generally ensure health, strength, and vigour of body, for the happiness of man can be erected only on the foundation of health of body and peace of mind."²

In putting his educational theories into practice, Owen abolished the system of receiving child-apprentices from public charities: "Permanent settlers with large families were encouraged in lieu of them, and comfortable houses were built for their accommodation. . . . The practice of employing children in the mills of six, seven, and eight years of age was prevented, and their parents were advised to allow them to acquire health and education until they were ten years old. . . . The children were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic during five years, that is, from five to ten, in the village school without expense to their parents."³

¹ First Essay, p. 9.

² *Ibid*, p. 19.

³ Second Essay, p. 24.

The mills were a commercial success, but Owen's schemes for training children involved the foundation of infant and other schools, and this could only be done at considerable expense to himself and the firm. Not unnaturally, perhaps, his partners were dissatisfied, and after some negotiation he acquired their shares, and formed a new firm of wealthy men in sympathy with his social and educational schemes, and willing to furnish the capital required to put them into operation. One of the first results of this was the foundation of the New Institution, of which he gives an account in the Third Essay of *A New View of Society*. It was placed in a central position in the community, and in addition to large playgrounds, the building provided accommodation for a school of two stories, which served also as lecture room and church. The Institution was opened in 1816, and with it Owen's schemes for the elevation of the work-people attained to something like completion. Babies were admitted as soon as they could walk, and they were kept at school till their parents insisted on sending them to the mills. It was through these self-denying labours of Owen that the Infant School became an integral part of the educational system of the country. The work begun by him was worthily continued by David Stow in Scotland and Samuel Wilderspin in England.

In evidence submitted by Owen in 1818 to a Select Committee of the House of Commons presided over by Henry Brougham, he gave some interesting figures regarding the number and ages of the children attending the New Institution. Out of 246 boys and 198 girls, 60 were three years old, 46 four years old, 59 five years old, and the remainder between seven and ten years of

age. In his *Life* (Vol. I, p. 134) he says: "The children were educated without punishment or fear of any kind, and were while in school the happiest beings I have ever seen. The infants and young children besides being taught by sensible things, and by familiar conversation, were from two years and upwards daily taught dancing and singing. . . . The children were not to be annoyed with books, but were to be taught the uses and nature of qualities of common things around them by familiar conversation, when the children's curiosity was excited so as to induce them to ask questions regarding them. . . . In addition, the boys and girls were to be taught in the school to read well and to understand what they read, to write expeditiously a good legible hand, and to learn correctly so that they might comprehend and use with facility the fundamental rules of arithmetic. The girls were also to be taught to sew, cut out, and make useful family garments, and after acquiring a sufficient knowledge of these, they were to attend in rotation the public kitchen and eating-rooms, to learn to prepare wholesome economical food, and to keep house neat and well arranged."

Owen's ideas on education and his work as a philanthropist attracted wide notice in this country and others, and New Lanark became a place of pilgrimage for educational and social reformers, statesmen, and royal personages. In the autobiography already referred to, he states: "I said to the public, 'Come and see, and judge for yourselves.' And the public came—not by hundreds but by thousands annually. I have seen as many at once as seventy strangers attending the early morning exercises of the children in the school."

But Owen began to express advanced opinions for the times on social and religious questions, and to avow his opposition to all religions if not to all religion. This alarmed his Quaker partners, and they curtailed his powers in the school. Dissatisfied with this, Owen, in 1829, withdrew from New Lanark. He devoted the remainder of his life to schemes for the cure of pauperism, to the spread of the co-operative movement, and the propagation of socialist and spiritualist doctrines in England and America. His unselfish and strenuous life came to a close at his native place of Newtown on 17th November 1858. His enduring monument is the universal acceptance of the Infant School as an essential part of the national school system.

CHAPTER TWELVE

DAVID STOW

THE idea of preparing teachers for their work goes very far back. The task of the medieval Universities was largely the production of "doctors" or teachers. Richard Mulcaster (1530-1611), Headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School, London, was the first in this country to advocate the training of teachers. He planned an ideal University which was to consist of seven special Colleges, one of which was to be set apart for the preparation of teachers. "Where youth is," he said, "there must be trainers, or there will be worse. He that will not allow of this careful provision for such a seminary of masters is most unworthy either to have had a good master himself, or hereafter to have a good one for his." But Mulcaster was almost three centuries ahead of his time so far as this country is concerned. France and the various German States were the first to organise a system of training teachers for their work. It seems at first sight strange that Scotland, which was one of the first countries in Europe to organise a system of education on a national scale, should lag a century and a half behind its Continental neighbours in instituting a training system.

No doubt the chief reason was the very efficiency of that system. By the Acts of 1616 and 1633 it had been decreed that every parish in Scotland must have

a schoolmaster "able to teach grammar and the Latin tongue," and also logic and rhetoric. Hence the majority of these teachers had received some University education, and could in turn prepare their pupils to go straight to the Universities. But with the rapid extension of industries and commerce at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the population migrated largely from the country parishes to the towns, and in these the children were allowed, for the most part, to grow up in ignorance. Schools were started in considerable numbers to cope with the serious state of affairs, but the teachers in them were not subject to the same legal educational test as those of the parish schools, and were generally of inferior education and ability. Not only in the towns but in the remote parts of the highlands and islands the same problem was arising. Something had to be done to improve the teachers, and so the breakdown of the parish-school system, which seemed at first sight a calamity, led to one of the most important reforms of the nineteenth century in education in Scotland, namely the training of teachers—the reform, indeed, which has made most of the progress in education since then possible.

The pioneer in this movement was David Stow. He was born in Paisley on 17th May 1793. He was the son of a prosperous merchant and magistrate of that town. At the age of eighteen he went to Glasgow to commence work in a large commercial firm. On his way to business every day he had to pass through the Saltmarket, one of the poorest and most degraded districts in Glasgow. He tells us that he found the question that recurred to him daily was, "Can nothing be done to stem this deepening torrent of degradation?"

Part of his leisure time he devoted to the distribution of charitable funds among the poor, and he says: "I saw an amount of deceit and wickedness which gradually convinced me that the idea of reforming the old was a hopeless one. The only hope lies in getting hold of the young and influencing them." But the day schools, for the reason already indicated, were not reaching the neglected children. So in 1816 he started a Sunday evening school. Searching out pupils among the poor families in the lanes, wynds, and vennels of the Salt-market and Bridgegate he called 'deep-sea fishing.'

But he found that this was not enough, and that one evening spent in the Sunday school could not counteract the contamination of seven days spent in the streets. The only way was to change street training into school training, and as the street began its influence almost as soon as the child could walk, the school training should begin just as early. The error made by philanthropists had been that they began at too late a stage, and that cure was preferred to prevention. Hence he resolved to start a day school for infants, his object being "to begin with children under six years of age, before their intellectual and moral habits were fully formed, and consequently when fewer obstacles were presented to the establishment of good ones." As he felt himself an amateur in education he searched everywhere for ideas. Nowhere did he get so much assistance as in some visits he paid to Samuel Wilderspin's Infant School which was opened in Spitalfields in London in 1820. "The first half-hour's observation of the system there pursued," he tells us sixteen years afterwards, "seemed to supply to my mind that germ of a system of education which, upon sound Christian

principles and superintendence, could not fail, under the blessing of God, morally to elevate society."¹

At first he bore most of the expense of the infant school himself. To extend the work and provide more adequate funds for his scheme, the Glasgow Infant School Society was formed in 1828.² While he was working thus as an outsider and an amateur in education during the twelve years from 1816 to 1828, he gradually evolved definite and novel conclusions on education which he propounded in two works, the *Training System* and a dialogue entitled *Granny and Leezy*.³ The fundamental idea was the difference between teaching and training, instruction and education. Teaching, he said, is the communication of facts, training is the formation of habits. Training in correct habits of action and thought cannot be begun too early,

¹ *Third Report of the Glasgow Educational Society's Normal Seminary*, 1836.

² Stow in after years gave 1826 as the date of forming this Society, and of founding the Infant School in Drygate Street, but the recent investigations of Dr. R. R. Rusk set forth in *The Training of Teachers in Scotland* show conclusively that the date was really 1828.

³ The *Training System* had a great vogue. The date of the first edition is doubtful, but the second edition was published in 1834, and between that and 1859 it went through eleven editions. *Granny and Leezy* (1833) was first published in the Glasgow Infant School Magazine. It is a dialogue in the vernacular, showing in a humorous and interesting way, and with great insight into character, the difficulties in the path of new-fangled ideas on education. It represents old granny reluctant to admit improvements, her daughter Leezy willing to promote her children's welfare by any means, old or new, and it gives occasional flashes of the husband's character.

About 1834 he published *Moral Training for Large Towns*, in which he elaborated plans, with approximate cost of buildings, with playing grounds and equipment, suitable for training-schools in large towns.

In 1847 Stow published *National Education: The Duty of England in regard to the Moral and Intellectual Elevation of the Poor and Working Classes*.

and it is the only rational and hopeful plan. Another principle which he emphasised was the power of "the sympathy of numbers." The public opinion of the class he found to be more valuable in intellectual and moral training, and more potent as a means of discipline, than any amount of corporal punishment. All place-taking, or rewards and punishments, he believed to be harmful.

One of the chief methods of instruction advocated in the *Training System* was what Stow called "picturing out in words," by which he meant that no word was to be used until the idea contained in it was understood. The children were to be taught nothing, but made to find out things for themselves. By means of questions, analogies, and illustrations, the idea was to be pictured in words, and rendered visible to the mind's-eye or understanding of the pupils.

Other features of Stow's System need not be detailed. He emphasised the value of frequent singing, of physical training, and the educational importance of the playground or "uncovered schoolroom." He laid great stress on the power of the Bible lesson in moral education. Boys and girls, he said, should be taught together.¹ That has been the traditional practice in the popular schools in Scotland, whereas in England separation of the sexes has been universal. Stow considered co-education a part of moral training. The girls, he said, morally elevate the boys, and the boys intellectually elevate the girls. Under twelve years of age they should receive all their education together. After that they may be separated for certain lessons, but "absolute separation for any lengthened period we conceive to

¹ *Training System*, Chap. XII.

be positively injurious." Infants had hitherto been taught by men, but he maintained that it was indispensable to have in every infant school a female as well as a male teacher. Finally, right from the outset, Stow insisted that teachers must receive a training for their work if any improvement is to be made in schools, and a special institution, a Normal Seminary,¹ must be established for this purpose.

Most of the features of Stow's system of training are commonplaces in educational doctrine now, but they were far in advance of the general practice of the times, and met with the opposition and ridicule of the schoolmasters of the parish and burgh schools. These were content in the main to follow the traditional paths, and they scouted the idea of method in teaching elementary subjects such as arithmetic, writing, and geography. They taught Latin generally with great success, but many of them lost sight of the fact that the chief object of all teaching is not the subject-matter, but the mental and moral development of the pupil.

In three other points of educational practice he differed from common opinion, and time has confirmed the correctness of his views. He opposed the Bell and Lancasterian monitorial systems, and he believed that mature minds were necessary to influence the moral development of the young child. "Monitors," he tersely said, "who are apprentices in the art, cannot and do not do the work of teaching, far less of training. In employing monitors, we have the semblance but not the reality of education."

Regarding the Pupil Teacher System, which was introduced in 1846 by Dr. Kay, afterwards Sir James

¹ *Training System*, Chap. XXVI.

Kay-Shuttleworth, Stow's views are expressed in the Appendix to *Granny and Leexy* as follows: "Where, as under the Training System, trained masters alone conduct the lessons, the introduction of pupil teachers, during at least the first three or four years of their apprenticeship, has, on account of their youth and inexperience, formed a decided drawback to the intellectual, and particularly to the moral, cultivation of the children."

He always opposed any suggestions to make it a function of a Training College to educate its students as well as train them. In the Appendix just quoted he said: "For twenty years, up to 1847, this exclusive attention to practical working enabled young men, who had previously been well instructed, to acquire the training system as perfectly in one-third of the time as it now requires with a two years' course, since a College or Teaching Department has been added to, and united with, the Normal or practical." Accordingly, when it was proposed by the Glasgow Training College Committee in 1859 to appoint a Master of Method who could also take part in educating the students, we find Stow proposing that a committee be appointed to consider "the effect of adding the direct teaching of mathematics and classics upon our students during the limited course of twelve months' training." After seventy years the Training Colleges are now returning to Stow's views, and are giving effect to his contentions by developing the post-graduate system of training.

To show the actual results achieved by Stow's training system, a master and mistress and about a dozen of the infant scholars of the Drygate School

visited Paisley, Greenock, Rothesay, Helensburgh, Crieff, and other places, and in most of them schools on the same plan were afterwards formed. By invitation they went to Edinburgh, and for three successive days gave public demonstrations of the training system in the Waterloo Rooms to crowded audiences, including most of the magistrates and many of the other leading citizens. An outcome was the establishment of the Edinburgh Model Infant School.

With the deeper and more discriminating interest in education aroused by these peregrinations, and Stow's advocacy of his system in the Press, male and female students began to attend the little school in the back garden in Drygate to be trained in the new methods. This was the real beginning of the training of teachers in Scotland, which accordingly dates from the year 1828.

Stow soon saw that if his training system was to have a chance, it must extend throughout the whole of school life, and not merely the infant stage. He resolved, therefore, to form a model school for older pupils. With his usual zeal and generosity he secured, at his own expense, two large class-rooms in the Saltmarket, and soon they were occupied by two hundred children over six years of age, and in a short time as many as a hundred male and female teachers were, by his unaided efforts, trained in his principles, the period of training varying at first from six weeks to three months, soon to be extended to six months and then to a year.

As the financial burden was too great to be borne by him permanently, he got a body, called the Glasgow Educational Society, formed out of what remained of

the Infant School Society, to take over the two model schools.

The comprehensive aims of the new Society were stated thus by the Directors:—

“The objects of the Society shall be to obtain and diffuse information regarding the popular schools of our own and other countries—their excellences and defects—to awaken our countrymen to the educational wants of Scotland—to solicit Parliamentary inquiry and aid on behalf of the extension and improvement of our parochial schools—and, in particular, to maintain a Normal Seminary in connection with our parochial institutions for the training of teachers in the most improved modes of intellectual and moral training, so that schoolmasters may enjoy a complete and professional education.”

The Society now felt itself in a position to advertise for a Rector to take charge of the two schools, and superintend the training of the students in them. In addition to offering a good salary, they stipulated that the successful candidate should spend several months or even a year or more, at the Society's expense, in becoming acquainted with similar institutions in England, France, and Germany—a proviso that shows how far Stow and his co-directors were in advance of some of the narrow educational ideas of the period. At one time Carlyle thought of becoming a candidate. Whether he really applied or not we are not told, but the Rector actually appointed was Mr. John M'Crie, a young man of great promise, and the son of the famous biographer of Knox and Melville. For nine months, during 1836-7, he travelled abroad as required, but the institution never reaped the benefit of his extensive

knowledge of European education, for he died only eight months after his return.

As the work was being much hampered by the two schools—the infant and juvenile—being a mile apart, the Education Society determined to erect a new building, to consist of four schools (infant, junior, senior, and industrial for girls), with accommodation for a thousand pupils and a hundred students. The foundation-stone was laid on 14th November 1836, and the institution was formally opened in November 1837. It was for long known as the Dundas Vale Training College of the Church of Scotland, and Stow has thus the honour of being the founder of the first fully equipped Training College in Britain.¹ But soon the Society was embarrassed by financial difficulties. The voluntary subscriptions, on which it had till then depended, proved totally inadequate to meet the increased current expenditure, and, besides, the building was hampered by a debt of nearly £11,000. The Committee of the Privy Council on Education was instituted on 10th April 1839, and to it Stow, “finding further appeal to the Christian public useless,” applied ultimately for a grant of £5000 to wipe off half the debt, and an annual grant of £500 to meet current expenses.² His appeal found a sympathetic listener in the Secretary of the Council, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, who was personally acquainted with the great work Stow was doing in Scotland, and it was agreed to give a grant of £4500 from the Privy Council, in addition to a grant of £1000 made by the Treasury in

¹ Borough Road Training College, London, the first Training College erected in England, was not built till 1842.

² *Memoir of the Life of David Stow*, by Rev. William Fraser, p. 162.

1838,¹ but the condition was laid down that the whole property be transferred to the Church of Scotland, and all the agencies of the institution put under her sole direction, with the right of inspection by the State. The Minute of the Privy Council was passed on 31st December 1841.

Soon after this the Disruption of the Church of Scotland took place. Stow and his colleagues with one exception became members of the Free Church, but as students of all denominations had from the commencement been admitted to the College, Stow thought that he and his Free Church colleagues would be allowed to continue at their posts. The General Assembly, however, resolved "that all teachers of schools under the management of the Church of Scotland must be in communion and connection with that Church." This meant that Stow must quit the institution which he had spent the best years of his life in founding. The same edict ejected many teachers from their schools. Situations had to be found for these, and to do so the Free Church Assembly in October 1843 resolved to embark on an education scheme involving the erection of some 500 schools throughout the country. This in turn necessitated the erection of a new Training College in Glasgow; and on 8th May 1845 the directors, teachers, 50 students, and 700 pupils marched in procession from Dundas Vale College to tents which were to serve as a school and college till another permanent building was erected. When the procession had reached its destination,

¹ R. R. Rusk in his *Training of Teachers in Scotland*, p. 147, points out the interesting fact that this was the first financial contribution made by the State to the training of teachers in Scotland.

Mr. Stow addressed the company as follows:—
 “Every person will admit that the buildings of the institution are not the institution itself; even this temporary building, embodying as it does all the trainers, students, and children, will exhibit the system as it existed ten years previous to the erection of the edifice which we have now left; it was then the Glasgow Normal Seminary, and such it must continue to be.” There have been few more dramatic episodes in Scottish education. The new site and the buildings erected in Cowcaddens, Glasgow, cost £10,000, of which £3000 was granted by the Privy Council, and it became the United Free Church Training College, Glasgow.

Thus was this amateur in education the means, almost single-handed, of starting the training of teachers in Scotland, of placing the system of doing so on a basis on which it remained almost without change for sixty years, and of erecting two of the finest Colleges in Scotland for the purpose.

Because of the remarkable originality and enthusiasm he displayed in connection with education, Stow was asked to become the first Inspector of Schools in Scotland, but for private reasons he declined the offer. In 1851 he was presented with a marble bust¹ by his former students and many friends. His oldest colleague in the College on making the presentation said that the founder of the training system was an honour to the country, and that the bust would preserve to posterity a memorial of an accomplished educationist, as well as a philanthropist and public benefactor.

¹ The bust now stands in the Entrance Hall of Jordanhill Training College, Glasgow. A duplicate, presented to Mr. Stow, is now in the Corporation Art Galleries, Glasgow.

To the end Stow took a keen interest in the training of teachers and in public education, which he regarded as the chief means of securing the physical, social, and moral welfare of the people. During the last few years of his life he was laid aside by illness, and he died at Bridge of Allan on 6th November 1864. The pioneer work that Stow did in connection with the training of teachers is of permanent value. He was not an educational philosopher, and he did not formulate any scientific theory of education like Pestalozzi, or Locke, or Rousseau. He was one of the most original practical educationists whom Scotland has produced, but his methods were solely the results of experience, guided by a marvellous insight into child-nature. His theories, which he spent a lifetime in perfecting, have not in all cases stood the test of later experience. His gallery in each room has long been consigned to limbo. He was right in emphasising the importance at every stage of self-activity as a means of learning, but he relied too much on oral instruction, and he erred in making the study of language so much subordinate to the study of material things.

The influence of Stow was not confined to Scotland. His training system was adopted in some of the English Training Colleges, and the Marquis of Lansdowne when President of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education said "all the improvements that have of late years appeared in England worth mentioning can be easily traced to the Glasgow Normal Seminary."

PART V
MODERN PERIOD



SIMON SOMERVILLE LAURIE

*From a Painting by G. Fiddes Watt, R.S.A.
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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SIMON SOMERVILLE LAURIE

THE most outstanding educationist in Scotland during the latter half of the nineteenth century was Simon Somerville Laurie, Professor of Education in Edinburgh University. For more than fifty years he laboured for education in one capacity or another, and during that long period no one did so much both as a writer and an administrator to spread enlightened ideals and to shape the course of Scottish education. His writings on the philosophy and history of education have had a great reputation throughout Europe and America, and in all respects he was regarded as one of the greatest of modern educationists.

Laurie was born in Edinburgh on 13th November 1829. He was the eldest son of Rev. James Laurie, and was educated at the High School and University of Edinburgh. He was one of the best classical students in the University in his time, and while still an undergraduate was appointed Assistant in Latin to Professor Pillans. The latter had at one time been Rector of the High School, and took a keen interest in all matters connected with education. The relations between the Professor and his young Assistant were of the happiest nature, and the close friendship between them continued through life. Doubtless it was under the influence of Pillans that young Laurie conceived

his life-long enthusiasm for education, and was led to devote himself to an educational career.

When Laurie began his work the educational situation in Scotland was peculiar. Beyond making certain grants to schools, the State as such was making no provision for the educational system of the country. There was a small number of schools, perhaps about 150 in all, belonging to the Episcopal Church and the Roman Catholic Church, but with the exception of these the education of the country was supplied almost entirely by the parish schools under the supervision of the Church of Scotland and the many hundreds of schools belonging to the Free Church of Scotland. In addition to this, the same two Presbyterian Churches were carrying on between them, with one small exception, the whole of the training of teachers for the school system of the country. They continued to perform their twofold task till the nation was ready to discharge its natural obligations by taking over the school system by the Education Act of 1872, and the training system by the Minute of the Education Department in January 1905. Such was the condition of affairs in 1855 when Laurie was appointed Secretary to the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland and Visitor to the schools under the supervision of the Church—a post which he continued to hold for the next fifty years. It offered him great opportunities of influencing the course of Scottish education during the most critical period in its history, and it was well for the country that it had a man with Laurie's unique experience and genius for educational administration in that position.

In the following year, 1856, Laurie was appointed

Visitor and Examiner to the Dick Bequest, of which an account is given on pp. 140-6. Under the guidance of Laurie the Trustees administered the Bequest in such a way that it has exerted a most beneficial influence on education in the three counties to which it belongs. The teachers have been picked men, and with very few exceptions have been University graduates. They have fostered higher education in the rural schools throughout the north-eastern counties, and until recent years have sent a large proportion of their pupils straight to the University. Youths trained in these remote schools have risen to eminence in all walks of life, and in every part of the Empire.

Laurie's Reports to the Trustees of the Dick Bequest are standard authorities on Scottish education.¹ Through these schools he sought to influence rural education in general, and he resisted every regulation of the Education Department that he thought would in any way injure the higher education given at that time in rural schools. In no other way, he believed, could the path of progress be kept open to clever boys and girls from these districts.

The occupancy of these two posts under the Church of Scotland Education Committee and the Dick Bequest Trust made Laurie the chief controlling force in the majority of the schools of the country, and enabled him during the next fifty years to do more than any other one to influence the development of Scottish education. In no sphere was his influence more beneficial than in the training of teachers. One of the most

¹ See, for example, the Report for 1890 in which he gives a historical sketch of the parochial school system of Scotland, and the effects of the successive Acts of Parliament down to 1889.

fruitful ideas originated by him was that teachers should receive their general education within the Universities beside those preparing for other professions, but it was only after continued pressure by the Church of Scotland Committee on the Education Department that permission was granted to the Managers of the Scottish Training Colleges in 1873 to send some of their best students to University classes during their course of training. He never ceased to advocate the sending of teachers in training to the Universities for their cultural and professional education, and it is owing to the good foundation he laid that every male teacher and the majority of the female teachers in Scotland now take full graduation courses at one or other of the Universities.

As superintendent of the Church of Scotland Schools, Laurie always took a special interest in the sparsely populated highlands and islands. To train teachers suited for schools in these districts he proposed in 1874 to institute a Training College in Inverness, and to utilise Raining's School there for the purpose. The project failed through lack of the expected support of the Society that owned the School. Another scheme that originated with him was the proposal in 1878 to institute a system of training teachers in connection with St. Andrews University and Madras College. The scheme was sanctioned by the Education Department, but was not put into force owing to some opposition from within the University. The project, however, was not lost, but was carried out on a more comprehensive scale seventeen years afterwards, when the Government gave powers in 1895 to institute Local Committees for the Training of Teachers in

each of the four University centres. It was largely due to Laurie's influence that a similar system for the University training of teachers spread into England. When the Denominational Training Colleges there were no longer able to supply the country's demand for teachers, Laurie suggested the establishment of Day Training Colleges in connection with the English Universities, and the suggestion was ultimately carried out, with lasting benefit to the country.¹

Another field in which Laurie did work of immense benefit to the country was that of educational endowments. He was one of the first to draw attention to the need of preventing the overlapping and waste of endowments devoted to education, and of reforming the Hospital system of educating and maintaining young children in institutions apart from their homes. In 1867 he was asked by the Merchant Company of Edinburgh to examine the four Hospitals under their management, with a view to the improvement and re-organisation of the institutions. He seems to have been regarded as consulting counsel in all cases of educational difficulty, for, when he received the invitation of the Merchant Company, he was engaged in preparing reports for the Managers of Heriot's Hospital and Donaldson's Hospital.

In his Report to the Merchant Company in 1868 Laurie said: "I do not think the Hospital system a wholesome one, either morally or intellectually. . . . The fixed hours for every act, the unvarying round from day to day, the necessity of acting in masses, the regimental routine in which every duty is embedded, inevitably tend to the destruction of individuality, and

¹ *Teachers' Guild Addresses*, by S. S. Laurie, p. 202.

where individuality disappears, morality is either a habit of fear or a hard duty which has reference only to external imposition. . . . Family life, and the ties which gather round it and grow out of it, the boys know nothing of. For these he has only the memory of the cold corridors of an Hospital, and a long stiff row of ward beds. . . . The monotony and certainty of the life, by producing a certain sameness of intellectual tone and habit, tend to produce mediocrity." He pointed out, further, the wastefulness of the system. In three of the Hospitals under the Merchant Company, with a total annual income of £12,056, he estimated that the total outlay on educational purposes was only £2229. "There is only one way," he concluded, "of giving full effect to the benevolent intentions of the founders of these institutions, and this is by converting the Houses into Boarding Establishments, and sending the boys out for their instruction to the High School, or some similar establishment."

The Merchant Company cordially concurred in these conclusions, and in later years it was the opinion of competent authorities that the great extensions that took place in secondary education in Edinburgh and other parts of Scotland were mainly due to the influence of the various Reports drawn up by Laurie. These, and the Report of the Argyll Commission issued in the same year, led to the passing of the Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act, 1869, enabling Trustees of Hospitals and other Endowed Institutions to apply to the Home Secretary for Provisional Orders for reforming the institutions. The Merchant Company obtained in 1869, on Laurie's advice, a private Act of

Parliament enabling it to throw open its Hospitals as day schools, and the result has been that the Company's two Colleges for Boys and two for Girls are amongst the most famous and successful secondary day schools in the kingdom.

The prominent part played by Laurie in the reform of endowments led to his appointment by the Government to the Secretaryship of the Endowed Schools (Scotland) Commission, 1872.¹ This Commission continued its inquiries for three years, and its Third Report was published in 1875. The three Reports laid before Parliament contained a mass of information regarding the Endowments of Scotland, and the state of secondary education in general, and concluded with suggestions as to the necessary reforms. It was Laurie, in the main, who inspired and drew up the recommendations for reform contained in the three Reports.

To follow up the work of the Commission and assist the development of secondary education, Laurie founded in 1876 the Association for Promoting Secondary Education in Scotland.² This Association by its conferences and printed reports evoked a considerable amount of attention in political and educational circles, and prepared the way for the Education Act of 1878 which gave School Boards power, for the first time, to maintain buildings for secondary instruction, and to meet such other expenses as were necessary for the promotion of efficient secondary education. It was also the chief instrument in securing

¹ For a full account of the actions of this Commission, and those of 1878 and 1882, see the present writer's *Rise and Progress of Education in Scotland*, p. 106 *et seq.*

² See article by S. S. Laurie on "Scottish Secondary Education" in the *Scottish Quarterly Review* for January 1892.

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the appointment of two successive Commissions to deal with endowments—those of 1878 and 1882. Thus was Laurie directly or indirectly connected with three Commissions, whose Reports gave a great impulse to education, and led to the institution or development of secondary schools or departments of schools in many parts of the country.

Closely connected with the policy fostered by Laurie for the improvement of secondary education was his advocacy of the establishment of Chairs of Education in the Scottish Universities. The idea of recognising Education as a University subject met with ridicule and opposition in many quarters, but for years he persisted in the proposal. The outcome of his advocacy was that Chairs of Education were instituted in the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews in 1876, and these were the first Chairs in the subject to be established in a British University.¹ Soon the example of these Universities was followed by others, and Professorships or Lectureships in Education have been founded since then in practically every University in the United Kingdom and America.

When the appointment in Edinburgh University had to be made, it was felt on every hand that no one was so well qualified for it as Laurie in respect of knowledge of the subject or experience of the schools, and in 1876 he was appointed the first Professor of the Theory, History, and Practice of Education in Edinburgh University. The aim he set before himself cannot be better expressed than in his own words: "The duty of a Professor of Education is, I think, to

¹ For an interesting account of the institution of Chairs of Education see R. R. Rusk's *The Training of Teachers in Scotland*, pp. 134-146.

give the students of the subject an ideal and also a method; but, above all, to inspire them with a sense of the infinite importance and delicacy of their task. He has to show them that they are not mere exactors of lessons, but trainers of the human spirit; and also *how*, animated by this large conception, they may, in teaching subjects, educate minds. He will expose the popular fallacy that the schoolmaster's work is a drudgery, and convince his students that it is a privilege."¹

From the outset Professor Laurie maintained that teachers cannot train the mind unless they have studied the process by which we know—in other words, unless they have studied the psychology of the intelligence. All educational work, he said, must rest on a philosophical basis, and all principles and rules of method must be deduced from the philosophy of mind. It is this that makes teaching a profession as distinguished from an occupation. In everything the teacher does the ethical aim should be supreme. Each individual pupil has an eternal significance. "If we are to educate, we must think of this. Our relations to children must be animated by the Humanism of Greece, and the Spirituality and Humanity of Christ. These ideas must fill the mind and inspire the activity of every man and woman who is blessed to be the guide and friend of the growing mind."² The teacher "must be so penetrated with the ethical nature of his task, and so governed in all he does by the ethical aim of his

¹ *Institutes of Education*, Third Edition, p. 7.

² *Address delivered to the Association of Principals and Lecturers of Training Colleges in England*, p. 16 (Cambridge University Press, 1902).

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vocation as giving life and significance to all he teaches and all he does, that he cannot fail to mould the thoughts of his pupils to those high conceptions of duty, justice, humanity, and religion which are the bond of society, and the sole guarantee of its stability and progress. He must, in short, himself be dominated by ethical passion; and both the subjects taught and the methods pursued must be regarded by him as instruments for attaining an ethical result.”¹

A movement in which Laurie played a conspicuous part was that for the reform of the graduation courses of the Scottish Universities. These were for long considered as unalterable as the Laws of the Medes and Persians, and were governed down to the smallest detail by statute under the University (Scotland) Act, 1858. As a member of the Senatus and General Council, and for a time of the Court, of Edinburgh University, Laurie raised the question of University reform.² He continued his advocacy both inside and outside the University until the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1889 was passed. By the Act, and the Ordinances passed under the powers it conferred, the whole organisation and curricula of the Scottish Universities were remodelled.

Amidst manifold duties, scrupulously performed, as Professor of Education, Secretary of the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland, and Visitor and Examiner for the Dick Bequest, Laurie found time to write works that established him in the front rank of writers on philosophy and

¹ *Institutes of Education*, p. vii.

² *Address on Scottish University Reforms* (James Thin, Edinburgh, 1889).

education. His educational works in the order of their publication are: *Primary Instruction in Relation to Education*, 1867; *Life and Educational Writings of John Amos Comenius*, 1881; *Rise and Early Constitution of Universities, with a Survey of Mediæval Education*, 1886; *Occasional Addresses on Educational Subjects*, 1888; *Language and Linguistic Method in the School*, 1890; *Institutes of Education*, 1892; *Teachers' Guild Addresses*, 1892; *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education*, 1895; *Training of Teachers, and Methods of Instruction*, 1901; *Studies in the History of Educational Opinion from the Renaissance*, 1903. Several editions of most of these works were called for, and his writings on education have had a wider circulation and exerted a greater influence than those of any other British author.

But Laurie was not only great as a writer on education, and as an administrator (doing in that department the work of several men), but he was also a profound and original thinker in the region of pure philosophy. His inmost thoughts were devoted to philosophy, and the great problems connected with it. His earliest work was a little volume on *The Philosophy of Ethics*, published in 1866, and it was followed in 1868 by *Notes on British Theories of Morals*. Professor A. S. Pringle-Pattison has admirably said: "Philosophical meditation was at once a refreshment to his mind after being immersed in practical details, and a pre-occupation from which he could not free himself. He thought and wrote and discussed with no idea of publication to begin with, but simply from the necessity he felt of arriving at some coherent view of the world and human life. As might be expected from his character, he philosophised with singular tenacity and

independence, and when his conclusions, written and re-written, as his habit was, from day to day, began to take definite form, he decided to test their soundness by giving them to the public under the assumed name of *Scotus Novanticus*. This was the origin of his *Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta*, and his *Ethica, or the Ethics of Reason*, published in 1884 and 1885 respectively." These works established him in the front rank of writers on metaphysics, and they were afterwards issued in a revised edition in Laurie's own name.

He continued till the end to meditate on the ultimate problems of life, and his last work, written after his retirement from his Chair, was a survey of the whole field of metaphysics, and a working out of his philosophical theory as to the nature and meaning of Ultimate Reality. His meditations formed two courses of lectures delivered by him as Gifford Lecturer in Natural Theology in the University of Edinburgh in 1905 and 1906. They were published in the latter year in two volumes under the title of *Synthetica*, the first volume being "On Knowledge," and the second "On God and Man." Professor J. B. Baillie, in a detailed estimate of the volumes in *Mind*,¹ said: "Those who read the discussion with the requisite equipment cannot fail to admire this masterly achievement of sustained abstract thinking. They will recognise in it, too, one of the greatest contributions to speculative philosophy which has appeared in English for many years. There are few philosophical problems of outstanding importance on which Professor Laurie has not long reflected, and on which he has not thrown fresh light. On some of the problems indeed he has left little more

¹ *Mind*, Vol. XVII, N.S. No. 68, and Vol. XVIII, N.S. No. 70.

to be said." "The statement of the arguments in favour of individual immortality in his last Meditation gives Professor Laurie his opportunity of showing his rare dialectical skill and fine speculative insight in dealing with ultimate problems. Whatever can be said in support of this conception is made the most of in this masterly treatment of a topic, the discussion of which seems as everlasting as the subject itself. It would be difficult to find in the field of philosophical literature so complete a defence of immortality in the sense of individual immortality, and certainly difficult to find this statement surpassed."

Advancing years and the desire to devote himself more completely to his philosophical meditations led Professor Laurie to lay down the burden of his public offices one after another. First he resigned his Professorship of Education at the end of Session 1903, next the Secretaryship of the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland in 1905, and the post of Examiner and Visitor for the Dick Bequest in 1907. On every hand the irreparable loss to Scottish education was recognised, and the words in which his colleagues and students expressed their sense of it may give some idea of the special character of his life's work: "No man has done more than Professor Laurie," wrote his colleagues of the University Senate, "to shape and influence the course of Scottish education during the last half-century, both by his writings and by his administrative and advisory work. The foundation of the Chairs of Education in the Universities was the carrying out of the educational policy he had consistently advocated, and was mainly the result of his own unwearied labours for many years

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previously. To him, also, as first occupant of the Edinburgh Chair, is due almost entirely the position which these Chairs now occupy in the educational system of the country, and in the University curriculum. His grasp of philosophical principles and his intimate practical knowledge combined with the influence of a strong and many-sided personality to make his tenure of office a memorable one, and to set a high standard for all future occupants of the Chair."

The students in a farewell address said: "It has been granted to few educationists to combine as you do theoretical knowledge with practical experience, and to elevate both by a sound and lofty philosophy; still greater is the gift you so eminently possess of communicating to others not only the letter but the spirit which gives life to teaching, and with life the possibility of growth and fruition. In the routine of daily work we shall be uplifted by the memory of your strong yet gracious personality, and by the inspiration of the high ideal to which you have beckoned us."

Teachers in schools under the Dick Bequest presented Professor Laurie with an address in which they said: "We desire, on the occasion of your retiring from official connection with our schools, to convey to you our appreciation of the eminent services rendered by you to the cause of higher education in the north-east of Scotland. . . . We look back on your periodical visits with peculiar pleasure. We recall your almost intuitive power of appraising the ordinary work of the school, the searching examination of the advanced pupils, the illuminative hints that your experience could so well supply, and, what lent grace

to the whole, your urbanity of manner that had the happiest effect on teacher and pupil alike."

Little need be added to these estimates of Laurie's work by those who knew him best. All his life he remained an enthusiastic student of classical literature and of philosophy. He was a great thinker, and he added to the traditional reputation of his country for abstract thinking and philosophical analysis. His work is of unique importance in the history of educational thought because of the principles he sought to establish. No attempt to summarise these principles can give an adequate idea of the value and character of his writings. In the first place, he based his theory of education on a philosophic foundation. In the next place, he insisted that "the well-being of a nation depends more upon the character of its citizens than upon its standard of intellectual culture, and the extent of its diffusion"—a truth which cannot be too often repeated in an age in which the claims of education tend to become narrow and utilitarian in character. Hence, in the third place, education for vocation should not be begun at too early an age, and should in every case be preceded by a general and liberal education. A boy or girl must be educated for humanity, thereafter for performing some definite service to mankind. Finally, he held that though instruction is important, for without a knowledge of facts and their connections we cannot train the mind, yet as Man is "a Reason," a being with the power of foreseeing an end and adopting means for its attainment, the essential thing in education is to train and discipline the boy to think and to reason for himself rather than to stuff him with facts for after reproduction.

On the administrative side of education Laurie always maintained the necessity of allowing the greatest possible freedom to local authorities, and the sole right of the people to say what shall be taught in the schools. "If there is one thing," he said, "more than another, next to religion, which keeps the spirit of a nation patriotic and living, it is the management of its own education." Hence he fearlessly opposed every step in the direction, as he thought, of undue centralisation. Certain new regulations introduced into the Code by the Scottish Education Department seemed to him to interfere with local freedom, and to have the danger of crushing education in rural schools, such as those assisted by the Dick Bequest. One of his last acts while Professor of Education was to address a large meeting in Edinburgh on "The Code of 1903, and Freedom in Education." He said: "The more 'efficient' the Department, the worse for the country. Of course, if the State gives money for schools, it must exercise control of some sort, but there is such a thing as the limits of State activity—in my opinion a grave question. It is notorious that under the cover of inspection, and its sequel of injunctions, the Central Authority may so act as to convert school managers into caretakers, and teachers into servile agents. Education is then at an end, and I doubt if even instruction will come to much."

Professor Laurie died at Edinburgh in March 1909. The memory he has left behind is that of one of the greatest thinkers and workers of his day in education. There was no trace of the fanatic in his mind or methods, but if there was one thing to which he held throughout his life with sustained passion it was his reverence for

the teacher's office and for the inspired teacher. The two aims he set before himself in his public work were, first to raise and enrich the education of the teacher to the fullest possible extent, and then to remove every barrier that could limit his freedom in teaching.

It is difficult to realise that he had to defend many of his views against a good deal of scornful opposition; the reform of the Hospital system, of secondary schools, of the University curriculum; the training of the teacher in method; the University education of the teacher; the recognition of Education as a University subject; the higher education of women; the infinite importance of the primary school—all these things for which he had to fight so hard are the accepted commonplaces of to-day. Though he would humorously maintain that he was above all a man of peace, there was always a certain subdued exhilaration in the readiness for an opponent, and a look as of the pleasure of battle in his usually serene blue eye. "A singular fearlessness of nature characterised him," wrote one of his closest friends; "it might be said of him as was said of another great Scotsman, that in public controversy he never feared the face of man. One reason was that he never had any selfish end to serve."

With undiminished vitality he retained to the end, as this same friend has said, his interest in the working of younger minds and a power of attracting them to himself. Fresh in the memory of many still living is the impression of this strong and vivid personality, in whom independence and penetrating sympathy were wonderfully combined—of one who had faced the griefs that life has to give without allowing his own courage to droop, or his help for others to fail.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

ALEXANDER DARROCH

A NICHE among the makers of Scottish education must be assigned to Alexander Darroch, the second Professor of Education in Edinburgh University. He may not have been so eminent a philosopher and educational historian, or so prolific a writer as his great predecessor, but he was a man of exceptional ability, and in administrative capacity was unequalled in Scotland in his day. When the denominational system of training teachers in Scotland was thrown into the melting-pot in 1905, it was Professor Darroch, more than any other one, who evolved a well-organised and efficient national system of training. When the great Education Act of 1918 was passed he did more than any other administrator in Scotland to bring the new and intricate powers of that measure into successful operation. For these services, if for no other, his name should be permanently inscribed on the roll of Scottish educators.

Alexander Darroch was born in Greenock on 20th January 1862. His father died soon afterwards, and his mother had a sore struggle to rear her family of one daughter and three sons, of whom Alexander was the second. He received his early education in a Board School in Greenock, and at the age of fifteen was apprenticed as a pupil teacher in that town. In due course he entered the Church of Scotland Training



ALEXANDER DARROCH

From a Photograph by Lafayette, Ltd.

College in Glasgow for the two years' curriculum arranged for students who were not at the same time attending University Classes. At this period he had the misfortune to lose his mother, to whom he was greatly attached—just when he had been looking forward to relieve her of her heavy family responsibilities.

On leaving the College in 1884, in the grade of First Class, he obtained an appointment as Assistant Teacher in a school in the village of Ecclefechan in Dumfriesshire. After nearly ten years there, he found himself at length in a position to fulfil his ambition to follow the paths of higher learning at a University. He entered Edinburgh University at over thirty years of age, and soon began to make his mark. His mind had a strong philosophic bent, and he greatly distinguished himself in the departments of Philosophy, Education, and Economics. While still an undergraduate he gained the Rhind Philosophical Scholarship, and for several sessions acted as a tutor in the Classes of Moral Philosophy and Logic. At the age of thirty-six he graduated with First Class Honours in Philosophy, and a year later—1899—he was awarded a George Heriot Research Scholarship for a thesis on "The Relation of Economics to Ethics and Politics."

After long waiting, and after overcoming almost insuperable difficulties, he had now demonstrated his ability in the academic sphere, and promotion came quickly. His first appointment was as Assistant Lecturer in Education in University College, Bangor. After only a year there he was recalled to Edinburgh to become Lecturer in Education and Psychology in the Church of Scotland Training College, and also private

Assistant to Professor Laurie, of whom he had been a favourite student. While still holding these posts he was invited by the Senatus of Edinburgh University to deliver a course of lectures, open to the public, on "Herbart and the Herbartian Theory of Education." The present writer well remembers the deep impression the lectures produced in University circles. They showed the profound grasp the speaker had of philosophical and educational principles, and his originality and skill as a lecturer. They were afterwards published, and they form, perhaps, the most authoritative examination and criticism of the Herbartian theory that has been made. They condemn the theory chiefly for the undue emphasis it lays upon knowledge and instruction, and for the purely empirical psychology on which it is founded. The book was published in March 1903, and in June of that year Darroch was appointed successor to his great master, Professor Laurie, in the Chair of Education.

During his twenty-one years' occupancy of the Chair, Darroch was recognised as one of the leading authorities in Scotland on all matters connected with education. His class was one of the most popular in the Faculty of Arts. When the Degree of Bachelor of Education was introduced some years after his appointment, Education was removed—very unfortunately as many think—from the list of graduation subjects for the degree of M.A., in which Laurie had got it placed only after long effort. Until then the Class of Education was attended by a large number of students other than those preparing for the profession of teaching. They were attracted by the inherent interest and cultural value of the subject, and the

ability, quaint humour, and magnetic personality of the lecturer. He added considerably to the equipment of the Education Department in the University. He instituted a Post-Graduate Diploma¹ and Degree in Education (B.Ed.)—the Provincial Training College at Moray House becoming recognised as practically an extra-mural school of the University in providing a considerable part of the curriculum for the new Degree. But apart from the Diploma and Degree, he encouraged a thorough study of recent scientific developments in Experimental Education by his ordinary and advanced students, and he was largely the means of instituting a Laboratory for Experimental Pedagogy in the Training College—one of the most complete laboratories of the kind at that time in the kingdom. By his activities in these and other directions he built up a well-equipped and highly successful School of Education in connection with the University—a School which has earned a high reputation in academic circles at home and abroad.

While discharging assiduously the duties of his Chair, Darroch considered it his duty to take an active part in the public administration of education. There was hardly an important educational body in Edinburgh or its neighbourhood of which he was not a member, and in which he did not take a large part in forming and guiding its policy. His exceptionally intimate knowledge of educational details, his quick and penetrating mind, his sanity of judgment, and his splendid business acumen were valuable assets to the

¹ Professor Laurie had instituted a Schoolmaster's Diploma in 1887, but it was on a totally different basis and standard from that introduced by his successor in 1915.

bodies on which he served. He represented the University on the Edinburgh Provincial Committee for the Training of Teachers from the time of its inception in 1905. He became Chairman of the Committee in 1909, and he retained that position till his death. When the control of the training of all teachers in Scotland was placed in 1920 under the National Committee for the Training of Teachers, Professor Darroch was elected the first Chairman of that body. From 1905 until he died no one in Scotland did so much to guide the great developments, amounting to a revolution, that took place during these years in the training of teachers, or to maintain the best educational and material interests of the teaching profession.

On the passing of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act, Professor Darroch became a member of the first Edinburgh Education Authority under the Act. From 1920 till he died he held the onerous and responsible position of Chairman of the Authority. He served also, as already said, on a multiplicity of educational bodies—the George Heriot Trust, the Edinburgh School of Cookery and Domestic Science, the St. George's School for Girls, Dollar Academy, Morrison's Academy, Crieff—acting in most instances as Chairman, and constant educational adviser. A project that lay very near his heart was the provision of suitable residences for students. He played a leading part in the foundation and management of the five splendid hostels for women students in the Newington district of Edinburgh—one of which since his death has, with great appropriateness, been named after him. In these and other capacities he worked incessantly and ungrudgingly, and it is no exaggeration to say

that he largely sacrificed himself in the public service. The heavy burden of public work, added to his professorial duties, made serious inroads on a constitution never strong, and led to a breakdown from which he never quite recovered.

From 1903 onwards Professor Darroch wrote a number of books which together constitute an important contribution to modern educational thought. Reference has already been made to his *Herbartian Theory of Education*. His other works include—*The Children*, 1907; *The Place of Psychology in the Training of Teachers*, 1911; *A History of Educational Thought*, 1912 (in Vol. VII of the Teachers' Encyclopædia); *Education and the New Utilitarianism*, 1914; besides numerous pamphlets and articles.

An examination of his work shows the large extent to which Darroch was influenced by M. Bergson, William James, and John Dewey. In his earliest publication he states his belief that "at the present day education is explicitly, but more often implicitly, based on educational theory, and that every educational theory is founded not merely on a psychology of mental development, but on some philosophical theory as to the meaning and value of human life."¹ Careful observation of a child's nature and the employment of experimental methods are necessary in order that "we may obtain a knowledge of the child's native endowment, and so be able to direct his education that he shall realise himself to the best advantage, and thus be able to perform the service to society for which he is best adapted."² "The study

¹ *The Herbartian Theory of Education*, p. vii.

² *Education and the New Utilitarianism*, p. 142.

of psychology has become fruitful to the teacher since it has rid itself of theological presuppositions as to the nature of the soul, and has separated itself from metaphysical conceptions as to the origin and nature of knowledge; and been content to analyse and to describe the modes by which habits are formed, ideals generated, and knowledge organised within individual minds. It will also further progress and be of value so long as it follows its own methods of inquiry and investigation without adopting the mechanical conceptions of much of the present-day science, and in so far as it leaves to the philosopher the determination of such ultimate questions as the relation of body and mind. . . . But we are a long way from a full and exact knowledge of how mind develops, and consequently we are not within sight of a scientific pedagogy.”¹

In his various works Darroch returns again and again to the importance of securing by means of education the social efficiency—physical, economic and ethical—of the individual, and shows the means by which it may be attained. “Education,” he says, “does not aim at culture nor at knowledge for its own sake, but at fitting the individual for social service. Our school system tends ever to forget this truth. . . . It tends often to lay too much stress on mere examinations and examination results. It forgets that the only true test of knowledge gained lies in the pupil’s ability to use it intelligently in the furtherance of some social purposes, and that the ultimate test of a system of education is the kind of social individual it turns out.”² “But this does not imply that our educational

¹ *Education and the New Utilitarianism*, p. 147.

² *The Children*, p. 131.

curriculum should be based on purely utilitarian lines, and that all subjects whose utilitarian value is not immediately apparent should be banished from the schoolroom. But it does imply that whether in the education of the professional man or of the industrial worker all instruction either directly or indirectly must have as its final result the efficiency of the individual as a worker. And education which fits the individual to use his leisure rightly may have as much effect in increasing the productive powers of the individual as that which looks more narrowly to his technical training.”¹

Like a true democrat, Darroch believed that it is the duty of the State not only to provide all kinds and grades of education, but to endeavour by a system of State bursaries to equalise the opportunities of all capable of profiting by any form of secondary or higher education. “Our system of education,” he said, “must be democratic in the sense that the means of higher education shall be open to all, rich or poor, in order that each may be enabled to find and thereafter to fit himself for that particular employment for which by nature he is best fitted. It must further be aristocratic in the sense that it is selective of the best ability; and finally, it must be restrictive in order that the means of higher education may be utilised to the best advantage, and not misused on those who are unfitted to benefit therefrom.”²

Both as a writer and administrator Professor Darroch persistently advocated the necessity of getting the right kind of men and women as teachers, and of

¹ *The Children*, p. 28.

² *Ibid.*, p. 84.

treating the teaching profession as one of the most honourable in the community. The teacher "who is to make his personality felt in the life of the school and on the conduct of the pupil must be a man of ready sympathy, of keen moral insight, with a strong sense of justice; consistent in his dealings with his pupils, and, above all, with a high ideal of the worth of his calling."¹ Teaching "calls for the very best brains and the highest moral character, and the ability and character so demanded should be adequately rewarded."²

Only on rare occasions did Darroch speak or write of his inmost feelings, or of the ideals by which he regulated his life, but he did so in a striking passage in his *Education and the New Utilitarianism*: "Pragmatism teaches us that the life of active social usefulness is the only life worth living, and that the really happy man is he who is efficient to perform his duties in the station of life for which by nature and education he is fitted. Moreover, it enforces the lesson that there are worse things in life than hopes unfulfilled and ideals unrealised, and that the failure which is to be condemned is the failure that results

From the unlit lamp, and the ungirt loin.

In particular it condemns, wherever he may be found, the loafer and parasite of society, and the man who has no other than selfish ends or interest in life. It insists upon the social reference, and that the life of actively striving for the progress of society is of much more value than the life of the mere recluse or the

¹ *Education and the New Utilitarianism*, p. 63.

² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

mere scholar. But above it all it condemns the life of mere amusement and of mere social convention as a life unworthy of a being who may co-operate with the Almighty in the onward progress of the world. Lastly, it leaves us with a great hope ; a hope that we men and women count for something in the world's progress and that we, in some measure or other, contribute to the working out of God's purposes here on earth ; that our every deed of social usefulness may

Live, and act, and serve the future hour,

and that we mortals

As towards the silent tomb we go,
Through love, through hope, and faith's trans-
cendent dower,
May feel that we are greater than we know." ¹

Professor Darroch largely sacrificed himself by his unceasing toil in the public interest. He possessed powers that might have earned him wide fame as a thinker and writer on education, but, while doing educational work of national importance, he deliberately chose to devote a great part of his energies to the public service, and to the elevation and betterment of the community in which he lived. As a consequence he overtaxed his limited strength, and a breakdown in health compelled him to curtail his activities during the last year of his life. His friends hoped that complete recovery and years of useful work might still be granted him, but he died while on holiday in Jura, the

¹ *Education and the New Utilitarianism*, p. 19.

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land of his forbears, on 9th September 1924, at the age of sixty-two. The work that he did as a teacher and writer during the twenty-one years of his professorship, and the great administrative services he rendered voluntarily during a period of exceptional development in Scottish education, entitle him to the gratitude of his countrymen.



SIR HENRY CRAIK, BART.

From a Photograph by T. & R. Annan & Sons, Glasgow

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

SIR HENRY CRAIK

ANY account of the makers of Scottish education would be incomplete which made no reference to the important part played by the heads of the Education Department in building up the national system. To realise how much the country owes to their services we have but to consider how different the progress of education in Scotland would have been during the last half-century without their guidance and help. They have not regarded it as their function merely to distribute Government grants in accordance with conditions laid down by Parliament, and to co-ordinate the action of the local authorities—they have initiated developments of far-reaching importance, and have done much to form the educational policy of the country.

The first Secretary of the Scottish Education Department was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Craik. He was born in Glasgow in 1846, his father, the Rev. James Craik, D.D., being a prominent clergyman in that city and afterwards Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. At the age of fourteen Craik passed from the High School to the University of Glasgow. After a distinguished career there he won the Snell Exhibition as the best classical scholar of his year, and proceeded at the age of eighteen to Balliol College, Oxford, where he also won a Brakenbury

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Scholarship in History. He remained in residence at Oxford from 1865 to 1870, obtained a First Class in Honour Moderations, and a Second Class in Greats in 1869, and a First Class in Law and History.

In the following year he was appointed one of the Junior Examiners of the Committee of Council on Education, and was specially attached to the Scottish side of the work. He was promoted in 1878 to the position of Senior Examiner, and this post he occupied till 1885. In that year Scotland got an independent Committee of Council on Education, known as the Scotch Education Department, and Craik was appointed by Order in Council Secretary of the new Department. At once the effects of his administration were felt in every grade of education. He entered upon a career of reform which he pursued with unflagging zeal during the nineteen years of his Secretaryship. It is not too much to say that during that period he played a dominant part in moulding the educational policy of Scotland. One of his first actions was to free Scottish education from the last traces of the system of "payment by results," in which the pupils individually were examined in the three Rs, other subjects being either neglected or not taught at all. The education and outlook of many of the children were narrowed and ruined by the system. In 1886 the Scotch Code did away with it in the lower standards, and four years later abolished it right through the elementary school. Class examination took the place of individual examination, and at the same time the curriculum was enriched by the addition of such subjects as English, History and Geography, Elementary Science, and Drawing to the three Rs in their barest form.

At the same time Craik turned his attention to secondary education, which had suffered in many ways¹ by the passing of the Education Act of 1872. Secondary schools were in many cases left to struggle against unsatisfactory accommodation, insufficient staffing, underpaid and untrained teachers. Instruction in the secondary schools was hampered not only by lack of means, but also through the want of an organised curriculum. Craik's first step was to introduce in 1886 a regular system of inspection of secondary schools by H.M. Inspectors, and this was followed in 1888 by the institution of the Leaving Certificate Examination,² after delicate and difficult negotiations with the Universities and the authorities of secondary schools. Care was taken from the first to avoid imposing regulations which might fetter the freedom and individuality of any schools coming under the scheme. The value of the Examination was soon realised by the country. In the first year there were only 972 candidates; in 1904, when Sir Henry Craik left the Department, the number was 19,090. The Examination, conducted along sound educational lines, stimulated the schools and raised the instruction given in them to a reasonable and fairly uniform standard. The Leaving Certificate at the same time secured the confidence of the public, and was accepted in lieu of their own examinations by the Universities in our own and other countries, and by the leading professional and commercial bodies.

Having established a standard for the secondary

¹ See *Rise and Progress of Scottish Education*, p. 170.

² For the requirements of the Leaving Certificate Examinations see *Rise and Progress of Scottish Education*, p. 204.

schools, Craik three years later sought to do the same for the elementary schools by the institution in 1901 of the Merit Certificate. Pupils over twelve years of age might enter for the examination, the object of which was to ensure that pupils leaving the elementary school, or passing from it to the secondary school, had obtained "a practical and permanent knowledge of essential subjects."

The next great reform to be made during Craik's regime, and largely under his guidance, was the abolition of fees for elementary schools. In 1889 a Local Government (Scotland) Act was passed devoting a sum of about £247,000 per annum to the remission of school fees of pupils up to Standard III, and the partial remission of fees in Standards IV and V. In the following year an Act brought an additional sum of about £40,000, which enabled the Department to give free education throughout Standards IV and V. By a Minute of the Department in 1891 elementary education was freed for children between 5 and 14 years of age, and another Minute two years afterwards made elementary education free from 3 to 15 years of age.

The prevision of Craik in this matter led to a most welcome windfall to Scottish education. While Scotland had been devoting public moneys, as has just been stated, to freeing elementary education, England had been devoting the corresponding sums to relief of rates. But an Act was passed in 1891 providing for free elementary education in England and Wales. Scotland was not slow to demand an equivalent sum, seeing that she had devoted moneys from other sources to secure free attendance at elementary schools. Her claim could

not be denied, and by an Act passed in 1892 she obtained a sum of £265,000 per annum, popularly known as the Equivalent Grant. A large part of this was devoted to university and secondary education. The four Universities were assigned amongst them £30,000 per annum, and secondary education got £60,000, out of which had to be defrayed the increasing cost to the country of the inspection of secondary schools, and of conducting the Leaving Certificate Examinations. These purposes absorbed over £3000, leaving almost £57,000 a year for the encouragement of secondary education. For the most advantageous utilisation of this money a Secondary Education Committee was established in each county and in each of the five largest burghs. A proportionate sum was allotted to each Committee for disbursement on secondary education according to schemes which had to be submitted for approval to the Department. Thus did Craik anticipate by over a quarter of a century the introduction of the county in place of the parish as the unit of educational administration.

Until 1897 the teaching of Science and Art subjects in secondary schools was almost totally neglected. Any instruction in them was given in evening classes after the pupils had left the day schools. The teaching was subsidised by a separate Government department called the Science and Art Department, with its headquarters at South Kensington, London, and the assistance took the form of grants of a certain amount for each pass obtained by a student in the Elementary, Advanced, or Honours stage of any one of an amazing array of subjects in Science or Art. There were several objections to this on educational grounds.

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Under this arrangement these branches of education were being treated as subjects apart, instead of as essential parts of a general education. Moreover, in this field two grant-giving bodies were overlapping—the Science and Art Department and the Education Department—so that grants were sometimes given by both Departments for work done in a subject by the same teacher with the same continuation class pupils. This was put an end to by the duties of the Science and Art Department being transferred to the Education Department by a Minute in 1897, and since then the Science and Art grants for Scotland, amounting to some £60,000 per annum, have been merged into the ordinary Government grants, on the condition that Science and Art subjects are adequately taught as a part of the ordinary curriculum of every secondary school. In addition to this reform, it may be stated that during Craik's term of office much was done for the improvement and encouragement of technical instruction. Substantial grants were voted for the purpose under various Local Taxation Account Acts.

In 1899 Sir Henry Craik¹ introduced into the Day Schools Code a new type of school which played an important part in the development of Scottish education. This was the Higher Grade School—a type intended for pupils who left the primary school at thirteen years of age (the limit at that time of compulsory schooling), and were prepared to continue attendance for other three years at a Higher Grade School before entering upon industrial or commercial

¹ Mr. Craik was awarded the C.B. at the Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1887, and the K.C.B. at the Diamond Jubilee in 1897. He was created a Privy Councillor in 1918, and a Baronet in 1926.

careers. A year or two later the Higher Grade Schools were given powers to carry on the education of their pupils to 17 or 18 years of age, and to allow the pupils towards the end of their course to specialise along literary, scientific, technical, or commercial lines. Many of the Higher Grade Schools became to all intents and purposes free secondary schools, and as such presented their pupils for the Leaving Certificate Examinations. This new type of school was an immediate success, for it was in harmony with the old Scottish ideals of free popular education of an advanced character beyond the elementary stage. It offered greatly extended opportunities for secondary education. In the course of a few years some 20,000 pupils were attending these Higher Grade Schools, for whom no such facilities existed prior to 1899.

In 1901 the age for compulsory attendance at school was extended from 13 to 14 years of age. This necessitated a re-organisation of the studies of the higher classes of the primary school, for it was hopeless to expect the older pupils to be interested in going over and over the same ground, and practically marking time till they were freed from school attendance. Accordingly, the School Code in 1903 introduced specialised instruction along industrial, commercial, rural, or domestic lines. The new courses were called "Supplementary Courses," for pupils between 12 and 14 years of age, and a pupil who satisfactorily completed one of these courses was awarded a Merit Certificate stating the nature of the course taken. These Supplementary Courses were good in conception, but, for reasons which we need not stop to investigate, they did not attain satisfactory success, and

in 1922 they gave place to the system of Advanced Divisions.

In 1901 Sir Henry Craik solved an important problem that is even now giving rise to considerable difficulty in England, namely the examination and certification of students preparing to become teachers. Until then the teacher students in Scotland had to work in accordance with a syllabus in each subject minutely prescribed by the Department. During a week each year the students underwent written examinations on papers drawn up by the Department. A student was placed in Class I, II, or III, according to his aggregate marks in the series of examinations, and the grade of Certificate awarded to the student depended upon his Class in the final series of examinations. All this was altered in August 1901, when Sir Henry Craik issued a Circular requiring the Training College authorities henceforth to submit their curricula for approval, and to conduct all the examinations of the students, subject to the condition, however, that any written papers could be called for by the Inspector in the subject. The final certification or failure of each student remained in the hands of the Department, guided in each case by the recommendation of the Training College authorities. The result of this bold experiment has been that the quality of the instruction given by the staffs of the Training Colleges and the work done by the students have undergone decided improvement. No one in Scotland would propose to go back to the old Chinese system of examinations.

Finally, Craik was a pioneer in physical education. At his instance a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the physical training of school children.

The influence of the labours of this Commission is to be seen in the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908.

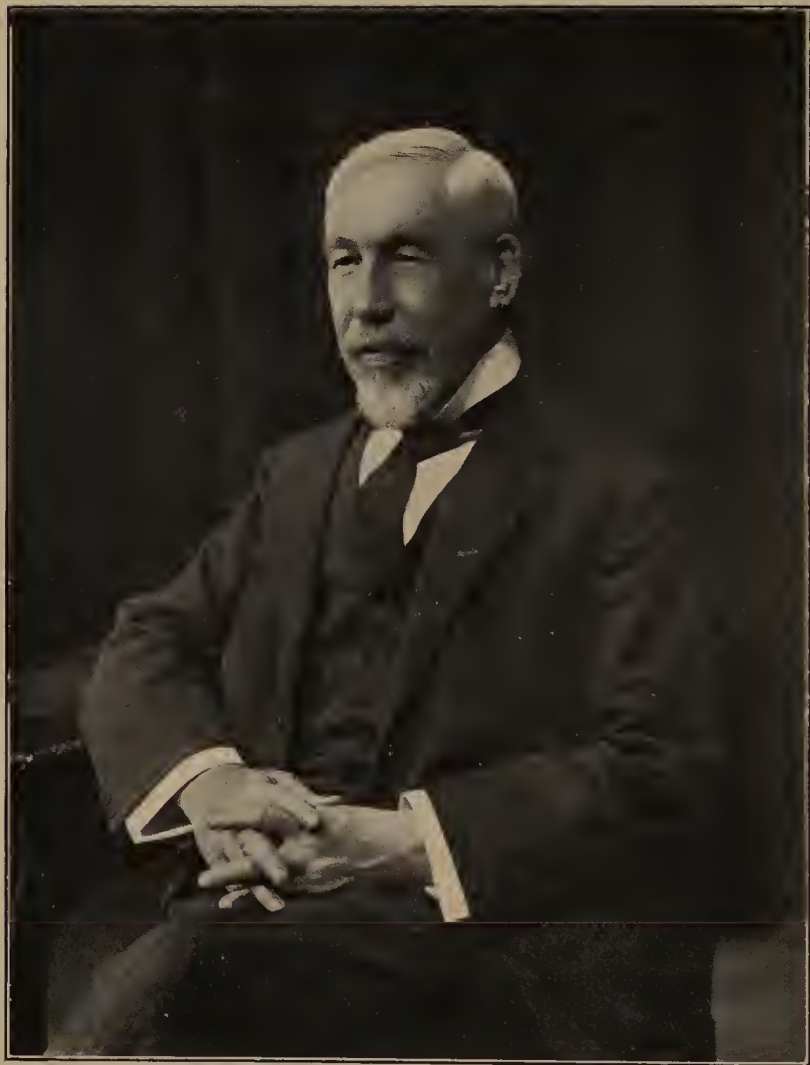
In 1904 Sir Henry Craik resigned the Secretaryship of the Scotch Education Department while still at the zenith of his powers. It was only, however, to enter upon a new career, for in less than two years he was elected Member of Parliament for the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen. By the Redistribution Act of 1918 the four Scottish Universities were combined into one constituency returning three members, and Sir Henry Craik continued to be one of the three until his death in 1927. As became a University member, he spoke in Parliament with special authority and influence on all matters relating to education. Frequently in debate he condemned the overcrowding of the curriculum of the schools, and the introduction of "fads and frills," which led only to waste of time and public money. He emphasised the need of teaching the three Rs, and building upon them habits of perseverance and clear thinking.

He was a consistent upholder of the freedom of teachers. As he told the House of Commons once: "We must always have good and bad teachers. Leave them to themselves, and the good will do good work; the bad will be none the better for going in leading-strings. Take away freedom and initiative, and the good and bad will be equally hopeless." He did valuable service as Chairman of a Committee appointed in 1917 to consider and make recommendations regarding the salaries of teachers. The Report of the Committee is generally called the "Craik Report," and to it we owe the institution in 1919 of Minimum National Scales of Salaries for Scottish teachers of all kinds.

Heavy official and parliamentary duties did not

prevent Sir Henry from making frequent excursions into literature. He was a writer of authority on a wide range of subjects, and there was a dignity and charm in his style—often rising to verbal beauty. He edited the English Citizen Series for Messrs. Macmillan & Co., and wrote for it *The Life of Swift* in 1882—still the standard short biography of the great Dean—and *The State in its Relation to Education* in 1883. In 1893 he published *Selections from Swift*; between 1892-96 five volumes of *English Prose Selections*—prefacing four of the volumes by a short history of English prose style; in 1901 *A Centenary of Scottish History*—mainly from the rebellion of 1745 to the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843; in 1908 *Impressions of India*; and in 1911 *The Life of Edward, First Earl of Clarendon*—whom he regarded as the first of a succession of great Conservative statesmen.

In Parliament Sir Henry Craik was an independent and fearless advocate of whatever he believed in. He maintained the highest traditions of our public life, and was held in great regard by members of all parties. He lived to be the oldest member of the House of Commons, and there was universal approval when the King conferred a baronetcy upon him in 1926 for his great public services. He died after a short illness on 16th March 1927. In his long life of eighty years he did a great work for the nation in education, in letters, and in politics. Perhaps posterity may say of him that the part of his career of most abiding influence was the nineteen years in which he guided the policy of the newly founded Education Department. During a critical period he laid firmly the foundations of present-day Scottish education.



SIR JOHN STRUTHERS, K.C.B.

From a Photograph by J. Russell & Sons

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

SIR JOHN STRUTHERS

NO administrator has imposed his personality more deeply on the school system of his country than Sir John Struthers during the thirty-five years he was intimately associated with the educational life of Scotland. It was a period of exceptional development in social and industrial conditions, and such a time was bound to call for great changes in education. National education required an administrator of vision and driving-power to bring it into harmony with the new and rapidly changing demands, and also to make it a factor in guiding the movements and tendencies along right lines. Such a one Scotland, through the foresight of Sir Henry Craik, found in Sir John Struthers. With the gifts of the statesman, Struthers saw what was required for the times, and he set himself to equip the educational system of the country to meet these needs.

For such a task he was singularly qualified by training and experience. He had a personal and practical knowledge of almost every type and stage of education to be found in Scotland. Born in 1857, he came of sturdy West Highland farmer stock. He received his early education in the parish school of Newton Mearns in Renfrewshire, where he was fortunate enough to have as his teacher a splendid example of the old parochial type, who prepared many pupils for

distinguished careers in all walks of life. After being a pupil teacher in the same school, he entered highest on the list in the Church of Scotland Training College in Glasgow. At the same time he attended the University in that city, and graduated with First Class Honours in Mental Philosophy and Second Class in Classics.

On the advice of that great metaphysician, Professor Edward Caird, young Struthers proceeded to Worcester College, Oxford; and in 1885 he took the degree of B.A. with a Second Class in Honour Moderations, and a First Class in Greats.

It was recognised by his teachers and fellows that he was a student apart, whose gifts would enable him to achieve distinction in any pursuit on which he set his heart. His tastes were predominantly intellectual, and he early made up his mind to follow an educational career. After a short period of service in an elementary school, he received, on the recommendation of Sir Henry Craik, the first appointment to an Inspectorship of Schools made under the new Scotch Education Department. That was early in 1886, and during the next twelve years he gained experience of schools in nearly every part of Scotland. He was one of the first administrators in this country to recognise the value of manual instruction as an element of ordinary education, and he paid a visit to Sweden in order to gain a knowledge at first-hand of the most recent developments in what was known as the Sloyd system of manual training. He prepared a valuable Report which was afterwards published by the Education Department. As a result, he was selected in 1897 to serve on the Royal Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction in Ireland. Here he greatly

impressed his colleagues, one of whom was Archbishop Walsh, by his originality of outlook and grasp of facts. The Report of the Commission was largely influenced by his views, and it led to the introduction of manual training as a part of the curriculum of almost every school in Ireland.

He now came rapidly to the front. Sir Henry Craik was on the outlook for someone to assist him in the many new problems arising in connection with the transference of the duties of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, to the Scotch Education Department, to which reference has already been made (p. 225-6). With the consent of the Secretary for Scotland, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Struthers was offered in 1898 a post in the London Office of the Department with the rank of Senior Examiner, and was later made Principal Assistant Secretary. The influence of Struthers was at once felt. He worked in continual co-operation with Sir Henry Craik in connection with the many reforms introduced by the Department between 1898 and Sir Henry Craik's retiral in 1904—the relaxation of the rigid requirements of the early Codes, and increased freedom to the schools; the replacement of variable grants and promiscuous curricula by fixed grants and an organically connected curriculum; the introduction of higher grade schools; the reform of continuation education and Science and Art instruction; the raising of the compulsory school age, and the introduction of supplementary courses; the abolition of external examinations in Training Colleges, etc.

Struthers succeeded to the Secretaryship of the Education Department in December 1904. In a month

after his appointment he issued a Minute which completely re-modelled the training of teachers. The system of training was placed on a national basis under four Provincial Committees; the Pupil Teacher system got its quietus; secondary teachers had henceforth to be trained like their primary brethren; and uncertificated teachers were given a limited period in which to become certificated or cease to teach. In the same year, 1905, came the "Regulations as to grants to Secondary Schools," by which generous subventions from Imperial sources put new life into many secondary schools which were languishing for lack of funds. About the same time a number of useful Memoranda was issued by the Department containing suggestions on the teaching of various subjects.

But perhaps it was in the field of secondary education that Struthers did his greatest work. By the institution of the Entrance Examination to the Universities, there had been a sharp rise in the University standard, and secondary instruction had to be re-organised to meet the higher demands. Struthers saw that only through greater separation of primary and secondary education, and the centralisation of the latter in a network of new secondary schools throughout the country, could the necessary reforms be made. This involved something like a revolution in our national ideals of education. For centuries we had prided ourselves in bringing secondary education within the reach of every pupil by means of the parish schools. But the new standards of secondary education could only be obtained by restricting it to a limited number of specially equipped centres in each county, and requiring the remaining schools to confine themselves to the more elementary

and practical forms of instruction. It was scarcely to be wondered that there was much opposition to the change. Professor Laurie, we have seen, strenuously opposed it in so far as it affected the Dick Bequest schools in the counties of Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen. But only by changing the time-honoured arrangements was it possible to raise the standard of proficiency of the secondary schools to meet modern requirements. Sir John pressed the reform in face of the bitter opposition of genuine friends of education obsessed with the virtues of the passing system. He made concessions to conciliate opposition and lessen the rigidity of the new scheme, and in particular to meet the case of the more remote and isolated parts of the country. Time, it must be said, has justified the wisdom of Struthers in enforcing the re-organisation.

Reforms could go no further without fresh legislation. Struthers had been meditating this from the time when he joined Sir Henry Craik in London. The result was the passing of the Education Act of 1908,¹ which opened something like a new era in Scottish education. It enlarged the functions of education to include everything connected with the physical and moral as well as the intellectual well-being of the child. Medical inspection, free meals for necessitous children, and the provision of playing fields and libraries—all for the first time were brought within the scope of Scottish education. The Act gave expression to the ideal Struthers constantly kept before him of an equal chance for every child. Powers were given to defray the travelling and maintenance expenses of pupils

¹ For a fuller account of the 1908 Education Act see *Rise and Progress of Scottish Education*, p. 184 *et seq.*

receiving their education away from home, and to award bursaries to enable deserving pupils to attend any secondary school or institution of higher learning. The Act put secondary education on a satisfactory financial basis, and laid on School Boards the same duty of maintaining secondary schools as the other schools under their management. Secondary teachers, too, for the first time were given superannuation rights on the same contributory basis as primary teachers.

One of the most successful provisions, as it turned out, of the 1908 Act was the distribution of the balance of the Education (Scotland) Fund through the extension of the powers of the County and Burgh Committees on Secondary Education, created in 1892 (p. 225). Experience of the splendid work done by these Committees gave the country confidence to take the next great step in the reorganisation of education, namely making the county instead of the parish the unit of educational administration. This great reform was made by the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918,¹ which, in addition to sweeping away the old Parish School Boards, brought the Church schools into the national system, made provision for raising the school-leaving age to fifteen and making continuation education compulsory, and gave powers for the voluntary education of adults. Mr. Robert Munro (now Lord Alness), who as Secretary of State for Scotland was the Minister responsible for the measure, said in 1925, in paying a generous tribute to Sir John Struthers: "It is true to say that the policy of the Act was his, and that he did more to fashion and mould its provisions than any other man. I believe that, when the controversies

¹ *Rise and Progress of Scottish Education*, p. 189.

of to-day are forgotten, the Act will remain an enduring monument to his educational foresight and his enlightened statesmanship."

The passing of the 1918 Education Act rendered necessary further important changes in the control of the training of teachers. The School Boards who had furnished the majority of the members of the four Provincial Committees for the Training of Teachers instituted in 1905 were no longer in existence, and their disappearance gave an opportunity for revising the scheme in the light of the experience of the past thirteen years. Accordingly Struthers issued a Minute in 1920¹ making a National Committee for the Training of Teachers the governing body of the system, while the four Provincial Committees were retained as local managers. Soon afterwards the Episcopal and Roman Catholic Training Colleges were transferred by agreement to the National Committee, so that every training institution in Scotland is now under the control of that Committee. That is a reform of the first magnitude, for the success of the educational system of a country depends upon the thoroughness with which the teaching force is educated and trained for its work.

One of the last official acts of Sir John Struthers was the issue on 13th December 1921 of a document that created some stir in educational circles, namely, "Circular No. 44 for the Re-organisation of Scottish Education." A few months previously Sir John had simplified the maze of Government grants to schools of different grades, and had arranged that in future there was to be a uniform annual grant per pupil whether

¹ *Rise and Progress of Scottish Education*, p. 221.

in a primary, intermediate, or secondary school. There had also been a multiplicity of examinations connected with the grants—Qualifying Examination, Intermediate Certificate Examination, and Leaving Certificate Examination. There was no need on financial grounds to retain these examinations since the grants no longer depended upon them, so Circular 44 intimated the discontinuance of the two first-mentioned examinations, and also of the Merit Certificate. Reforms of such a drastic character made a great difference in the work of the schools, the energies of which hitherto had been largely engaged in preparing the pupils for these external examinations.

Pupils beyond the old qualifying stage were henceforth, the Circular stated, to be divided into two groups:—

(1) *The Secondary Group*—consisting of those who have the intellectual fitness and are likely to complete a full course of secondary education. Struthers' desire, he stated, was "to ensure the maintenance of the immemorial Scottish tradition that, subject to the over-riding condition of intellectual fitness, no child, whatever his home circumstances, shall be debarred access to the Secondary School and the University by lack of opportunity."

(2) *The Non-Secondary Group* (now called Advanced Divisions)—consisting of those who, through lack of intellectual fitness or of opportunity, will not go on to a full secondary education. The Circular stated that this group, which contains the great majority of pupils, had not received due attention in the past.

The education of the two groups, the Circular said, was to have an entirely separate organisation even in subjects common to both groups. If this were not done, the interests of the non-secondary group would probably be sacrificed for those of the secondary. But while they were to be kept entirely separate, there were to be suitable bridges provided at various stages for passing from the one group to the other.

The Secretary for Scotland, in introducing the new proposals to the country, said:¹ "We in Scotland are justly proud of our high educational traditions. We must, of course, hold fast to what we have inherited, and must improve it if we can. But the 'lad o' pairts' was always an exception, and too often his talents were cultivated at the expense of his less fortunate companions of only average ability. . . . The Department have felt bound at this critical juncture to put the interests of the majority in the foreground, and to regard them as paramount. It is in the light of this attitude that the contents of the Circular must be looked at."

But Struthers did not confine his boundless energy and his administrative genius to the sphere of education. He found time to be an active member of the Committee on Physical Deterioration, appointed in 1904; the Committee on Local and Imperial Taxation, 1912; the Joint Board of Insurance Commissioners, 1912; and from the commencement of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust he held the onerous

¹ Address by Mr. Robert Munro, Secretary of State for Scotland, to the Advisory Council of the Scottish Education Department, 13th December 1921.

post of Chairman of the Standing Committee on Libraries.

Struthers retired from office at the end of December 1921. His great services and unwearied devotion to the cause of education were recognised by his many admirers throughout Scotland by the presentation in the following year of a striking portrait of him painted by Mr. Maurice Greiffenhagen, R.A. Unfortunately he did not long enjoy his leisure. His excessive labours had told on a constitution naturally strong, and he died in London after a few hours' illness on 25th October 1925, at the age of sixty-eight.

Struthers was a man of unusual ability and wide culture. He had a wonderful gift for languages. He loved foreign travel, and he could converse with fluency in most European tongues. He was a man of long vision, clear views, and unwearied patience in working out reforms on which he had set his mind. He never allowed details to obscure his perception of the main issues involved. He kept his ultimate objective patiently in view, and every stage of his administrative advance was a preparation for the next. The Education Act of 1908 prepared the way for the greater Act of 1918; and the Provincial Committees for the Training of Teachers of 1905 were the forerunners of the National Committee of 1920. He clung tenaciously to leading principles, and tested every proposal by them. Every change made had to be in harmony with the traditional democratic nature of the Scottish system of education, and to be a further step towards making equal opportunity for all a reality. He could be masterful when occasion

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required, but, like all really strong men, he was wonderfully open to conviction. There was nothing of the rigid *non possumus* attitude of the conventional bureaucrat about him. Lord Alness paid him a just tribute when he said, "The popular picture of Struthers as a bureaucrat seated in Whitehall, turning down the ideas and schemes submitted to him, and dictating educational policy with a supreme disregard of all representations made to him regarding it, is ludicrously inaccurate." Mr. Lloyd George in a speech in the House of Commons in 1912 said that Struthers was one of the ablest officials in the Government service. His continual aim was the good of Scotland, and particularly of Scottish youth. No one has done more in recent times to realise the ideals of the early educational reformers. He has woven his personality into the fabric of Scottish education. He was a great Scotsman—to whose memory his country has good reason to be grateful.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

LORD HALDANE

THE makers of Scottish education, in the widest sense, include not only all who work in the schools and colleges of the country, local and central administrators, the professors and principals of the Universities, but also the statesmen who form the laws under which the system is developed. In the history of Scottish education there has been no statesman with more original and enlightened ideas on education, or a more genuine interest in it, than Lord Haldane. In his first electoral campaign for the suffrages of East Lothian he astonished the constituency by devoting several of his speeches to the subject of education. Educate the people, he said, and you reduce to comparatively insignificant dimensions the problems of temperance, of housing, and of raising the condition of the masses. These things solve themselves if by education you get the right spirit into the people. In those early days he maintained that secondary education and technical education were neglected, and that there was urgent need for the closer application of science to the problems of industry. The continued prosperity of a democratic and industrial country like ours demands men and women of ideas and of the inquiring spirit. Such are most likely to be reared by the kind of training which a University alone can give, hence he was an ardent advocate of University education. Such



VISCOUNT HALDANE OF CLOAN, O.M.

From a Painting by G. Fiddes Watt, R.S.A.

(By permission)

LORD HALDANE

an education should be put, as far as it is possible, within the reach of workers, hence he was the apostle of adult education of a liberal type for workers, and he devoted a large part of his energies during the last ten years of his life to this cause. He was, indeed, unique among the public men of his day. It has with truth been said of him that in his seventy-two years he lived through four full careers as lawyer, statesman, philosopher, and educationist, and that he occupied a place in the first rank of each of them.

Richard Burdon Haldane was born in Charlotte Square in Edinburgh in 1856. His father was a well-known Writer to the Signet, a branch of the legal profession in Scotland which concerns itself largely with matters relating to conveyancing, and the management of landed property, as well as ordinary legal and financial business. His father owned a small estate at Cloan, near Gleneagles in Perthshire. The Haldanes of Gleneagles, who have included in their lineage many knights, squires, soldiers, lawyers, and statesmen, trace their history back to Aylmer de Haldane, created a baron by Edward I of England in 1296. On the side of his mother—a remarkable woman who lived to be a centenarian—Lord Haldane was connected with a well-known North of England family, the Burdons of Northumbria.

A considerable part of each year was spent by Lord Haldane's father and mother at Cloan, and while there the education of the children was carried on by a tutor. During the winters in Edinburgh young Haldane attended a Preparatory School for a year or two, and then was sent to Edinburgh Academy, which enjoyed a great reputation as a Secondary School of the classical type.

At the age of sixteen Haldane proceeded to Edinburgh University to take the usual course in Arts. There he came under the influence of such professors as Masson in English Literature, Tait in Physics, and Blackie in Greek; but it was Professor Sellar, the scholarly occupant of the Latin Chair, who exercised the greatest influence upon him, and showed him something of the wider outlook on life which learning can give. Even at that early stage his leanings towards philosophy were showing themselves, and he was one of the most active members of the Students' Philosophical Society, and formed a life-long friendship with some able contemporaries of kindred tastes. At the same time he was studying in his leisure moments the philosophical writings of Hutchison Stirling, T. H. Green, and Edward Caird, and was being drawn by them towards the idealistic philosophy of which he was afterwards to become one of the ablest exponents.

He determined to interrupt for a time his studies in Edinburgh in order to pursue his philosophical studies in Germany. On the advice of Professor Blackie, the brilliant but somewhat erratic occupant of the Greek Chair, he proceeded to Göttingen University to study under Lotze, one of the greatest philosophical thinkers of the time. Under him he studied the works of Fichte, Kant, Hegel, and Schopenhauer. The powerful influence which German thought, and perhaps, even, German ways of thinking, exercised upon him in his subsequent career was begun at this period. He became confirmed in his conviction that truth lay in the direction of philosophical idealism. To him the spiritual was the only reality, and he escaped the duality of idealism and realism by denying any fundamental

difference between subject and object. The moulding influence of this stay in Germany before he was eighteen years of age remained with him through life. Ever afterwards German life and modes of thought continued to be a great attraction to him. He continued in after years to correspond with his former teachers and distinguished thinkers in Germany with whom he came into contact. With congenial companions he spent annual holidays in Germany. He continued a close student of German literature, the German system of education, and the industrial and military organisations of that country.

Young Haldane returned to Scotland in the autumn of 1874, and resumed his studies at Edinburgh University. He graduated as M.A. with First Class Honours in Philosophy in 1876, winning at the same time the Bruce of Grangehill Medal in Philosophy, and the Gray Scholarship in that subject. A few months afterwards he gained in open competition the Ferguson Scholarship in Philosophy—one of the most coveted prizes open to students of the four Scottish Universities.

Haldane then began to study Law, reading partly in Edinburgh but mainly in London, whence he removed soon after the death of his father in 1877. In 1879 he was called to the English Bar at the early age of twenty-three. His ability earned him rapid success. With his philosophical training he could think out systematically the details of the most complicated matters that came before him. He had a tenacious memory, he was an indefatigable worker, and he had a will-power that made him succeed in whatever he seriously undertook. He had a passion for reading Law, and acquired an amazing knowledge of authorities

and standard text-books. He remained a Junior of the Bar for ten years, with a large and growing practice. On the Chancery side of the Law Courts he won a splendid position, and in 1890 he became a Queen's Counsel. He was briefed for almost every case of the first importance that came before the Privy Council or the House of Lords. One of the most famous Scottish litigations in which he was engaged was the appeal to the House of Lords in 1904 of the minority of the Free Church of Scotland against the union of that Church with the United Presbyterian Church to form the United Free Church of Scotland. Mr. Haldane argued the case for the majority, and entered into the mysteries of the doctrinal aspects of Presbyterianism with wonderful ability; but, contrary to general expectation, the minority won their appeal.

He quitted the Bar finally in 1905, when he gave up a lucrative practice amounting to over £15,000 a year, despite the heavy political and other work he was doing. When he entered upon his career in Law, those who knew best his commanding intellectual powers as an undergraduate in Edinburgh predicted that he would yet occupy the Woolsack. The prophecy was fulfilled abundantly, for he was Lord Chancellor from 1912-15, and again in 1924. As a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council from 1911 till his death he did service of inestimable value to the nation and to the empire.

After he had been five years a Junior at the Bar he began to turn his thoughts in the direction of politics. He stood as a Liberal candidate for East Lothian, which for many years had been represented by a member of the family of Lord Wemyss. He captured

the seat from Lord Elcho at the election in 1885, and continued to hold it till he became Lord Chancellor in 1912. For twenty years he was a private member of the House of Commons, and then Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman appointed him Minister for War in 1905. Of the work he performed in that office, and the epoch-making reforms he accomplished, it is beyond our province to speak. It is no exaggeration to say that by the reorganisation of our military forces he effected by Act of Parliament in 1907 he saved the country in the Great War, and made his mark on the history of Europe.

But the cause which he had most at heart during the whole of his public life was the advancement of national education. He had a passionate faith in education, and regarded the extension and adequate organisation of the means of education as of vital importance to the future of the country. He manifested this absorbing interest in his very first political addresses, and he continued it till the end of his life. In addressing the students as Lord Rector of Edinburgh University in 1907 he used these words:¹ "Among the States, as among private citizens, the individuality that is most formidable is formidable because of qualities that are not merely physical. It commands respect and submission because it impresses on those with whom it comes in daily contact a sense of largeness and of intellectual power. . . . It was the moral and intellectual equipment of Greece and Rome that made them world-powers. So it has been with Japan in our own time . . . but if this is so, then the first purpose of a nation—and especially, in these days of growth all

¹ *Selected Essays and Addresses*, p. 12.

round, of a modern nation—ought to be to concentrate its energies on its moral and intellectual development. And this means that because, as the instruments of this development, it requires leaders, it must apply itself to providing the schools where leaders can be adequately trained. . . . At this point the history of the modern State shows that the University plays an important part. The elementary school raises our people to the level at which they become skilled workers. The secondary school assists to develop a much smaller but still large class of well-educated citizens. But for the production of that limited body of men and women whose calling requires high talent, the University or its equivalent alone suffices.”

In another passage in the same Address, Lord Haldane said:¹ “The noblest of souls can find full satisfaction for his best aspirations in the sustained effort to do his duty in the work that lies at hand to the utmost that is in him. It is the function of education in the highest sense to teach him that there are latent in him capacities of which, without contact with the highest learning, he had never become aware. And so the University becomes, at its best, the place where the higher ends of life are made possible of attainment, where the finite and the infinite are found to come together.” These passages give the essence of Lord Haldane’s conception of the aim of education, and the special functions of the different parts of the national educational system.

It is perhaps to be regretted that Lord Haldane was never Minister of Education. With his absorbing interest in the subject, his originality of mind, and his

¹ *Selected Essays and Addresses*, p. 38.

clear conception of the problems of education, he would probably have produced a reorganisation as far-reaching as that which he effected in the military services of the nation. Every measure for the advancement of education, from whatever party in the State it came, had his warmest support. When Mr. A. J. Balfour introduced his great English Education Bill of 1902 to get rid of the artificial distinction between primary and secondary instruction, to raise the efficiency of the Church schools, and to substitute County and Borough Councils for the more restricted School Boards, Lord Haldane cordially supported it by speech and vote, although the Liberal Party hotly opposed it on account of Nonconformist influence.¹

Lord Haldane played an active part in the genesis and passing into law of the important Scottish Education Acts of 1908 and 1918. But he repeatedly lamented the absence of zeal among Liberals for reform of education.² This helped to drive him gradually towards the Labour Party, which was enthusiastic for educational advance and had a definite policy of educational reform.³

Higher education had no more ardent friend than Lord Haldane. In association with Mr. Sidney Webb (now Lord Passfield) and others he founded the London School of Economics; and as a result of a Report of a Committee of which Lord Haldane was Chairman the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London was formed in 1907.⁴ He had a

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 148.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 218, 307.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 309, 320.

⁴ *Viscount Haldane of Cloan—the Man and his Work*, by Viscount Grey and others, p. 25 (Oxford University Press, 1928).

living faith in the ideals for which a University stands. He believed that the greatest realities are spiritual, and that freedom and supremacy of spirit are to be found most completely in the atmosphere of a University. "A University cannot be dependent in its spirit. It cannot live and thrive under the domination either of the Government or the Church. Freedom and development are the breath of its nostrils, and it can recognise no authority except that which rests on the right of Truth to command obedience. Religion, art, science—these are, for the body of teachers of the true University type, but special and therefore restricted avenues towards that Truth, many-sided as it is, and never standing still."¹

Lord Haldane at the time of his death was Chancellor of two Universities—St. Andrews and Bristol—and he may be regarded as the father of the new Universities in England which have come into being during the past thirty years. One of the first Universities to benefit by his zeal was that of London. For a long time there had been dissatisfaction in many quarters with that University. It was a mere Examining Board for granting external degrees by means of examinations without teaching. This appeared to many to be unworthy of a University at the very centre of the Empire. Besides, it was depriving the students of the chief benefit to be derived from a University training, namely, the development of the mind and personality by contact in the class-room between teacher and taught. As it was hopeless to attempt to do away with the existing system, which had got firmly rooted by long custom, a compromise was proposed, namely, to extend the

¹ *Selected Essays and Addresses*, p. 46.

existing University by giving it a well-equipped teaching side. A scheme to this effect was drafted by Mr. Haldane (as he was then) and Mr. Sidney Webb working in close collaboration, and after long and bitter opposition from many quarters it was given effect to by the London University Act of 1898.¹

A condition on which the Irish Home Rule Party helped to carry the Bill was that Mr. Haldane should go over to Ireland and, after investigations on the spot, devise a scheme for the reform of the Irish University.² It was generally agreed that the Catholics had reason to feel aggrieved so long as Ireland had only a Protestant University—Trinity College, Dublin. Mr. Haldane visited Ireland in October 1898 and entered upon most difficult negotiations with the various religious and educational bodies. The scheme he proposed was to institute two new teaching Universities, one in Dublin and one in Belfast. The constitutions of the two would on the surface appear identical, but in carrying them into effect the composition of the governing bodies in Dublin was to be predominantly Catholic, and that in Belfast predominantly Protestant. When every difficulty seemed to be overcome, the scheme was turned down by the Balfour Government. Ten years later it was resuscitated and carried successfully through Parliament by the Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Augustine Birrell, and it has worked with great advantage both to Southern and Northern Ireland. Thus it was mainly through the efforts of Mr. Haldane that the tangled problem of University education in Ireland was solved.

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 124 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 129.

Mr. Haldane next raised the question of increasing the number of Universities in England.¹ Scotland, he pointed out, had four Universities for a population of four millions, while England, with a population of thirty-five millions, had only a like number of Universities, namely, the old Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the University of Durham, largely concerned with clerical training, and the Victoria University at Manchester, which was simply a federation for degree-granting purposes of the University Colleges of Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds. The problem of Haldane and other reformers was how to increase the number of Universities without detriment to the University ideal. Oxford and Cambridge were doing indispensable work for the country in their own particular sphere, but it was not possible, or even under modern conditions desirable, to multiply foundations similar to these old historic Universities all over the country. Mr. Haldane's idea was to establish civic Universities of a high standard and a modern outlook in some of the great cities of England. But before definitely embarking on such a policy he suggested that a Committee of the Privy Council should be appointed to examine and report on the whole matter.

A very strong Committee of the kind was appointed under the chairmanship of the Duke of Devonshire. Petitions for Charters for separate Universities were received by the Committee from Liverpool and Manchester. Eminent counsel conducted the cases of the different parties concerned, and witnesses were examined. In February 1903 the Committee issued its Report, and stated that a case had been made out for

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 139.

granting the Charters for full University status to Liverpool and Manchester. In advising that the Charters should be granted, the Committee pointed out the desirability of co-operation between Universities of a common type and with cognate aims. Commenting in his *Autobiography* on the Report, Lord Haldane remarks, "It has always seemed to me that this decision of the Government as advised by the Privy Council in 1903 was a step of the first importance in the history of higher education."¹

The decision bore immediate results. Birmingham had already taken action. Soon Leeds, Bristol, and Sheffield received Charters for Universities. Durham was remodelled, and Armstrong College and the College of Medicine at Newcastle were brought completely into organic unity with the University, of which they had always in some measure been constituent bodies. Later on Reading College received University status, and the University system of Wales was wholly remodelled.² But besides these, new University Colleges were founded in various parts of England. Thus the recognition by the State of the new policy regarding University education had far-reaching consequences. Speaking of these civic Universities, Lord Haldane says, "Thus early in the century there were established teaching Universities controlled within the great cities to which they belonged. The civic communities had reached a stage at which they had resolved to be content in higher education with nothing short of what was highest."³

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 146.

² *Viscount Haldane of Cloan—the Man and his Work*, p. 26.

³ *Autobiography*, p. 147.

After the institution of these provincial Universities the next step was to secure their recognition as an essential part of the national system of education, and to obtain financial assistance from the Treasury towards their maintenance. In 1904 the grant from the Treasury to the Universities in Britain apart from Oxford and Cambridge was only £27,000. In 1905 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, doubled this sum, and promised that in the following year it would be further raised to £100,000. In view of these increased grants Mr. Chamberlain in 1905 appointed a Committee with Mr. Haldane as Chairman to advise the Treasury on the allocation of grants to the Universities, and the Committee was asked "to report how, in their opinion, State-aid to University teaching can be most effectively organised and applied." The Committee issued three Reports, in the last of which they recommended the establishment of a permanent Committee to advise the Treasury on the distribution of the annual sum available among the Universities. The recommendation was adopted, and a University Grants Committee was appointed with Sir William M'Cormick as Chairman, and the Treasury on their advice now disburses something like £310,000 per annum among the Universities and University Colleges in Great Britain. The appointment of this Treasury Committee really marks the beginning of a national policy for University education.

The next move by Mr. Haldane was to advocate the development of the work of the Universities by giving them extra-mural functions. He saw that if adult education centres could be established by the Universities in their districts, the influence of teaching of the

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University type would be brought to bear to some extent on the working classes, and there would be a fulfilment in some measure of the idea of equality of educational opportunity advocated by the reformers from Knox onwards. Those who have to work day by day for a living cannot go to a University, but the University spirit may come to them from within the walls it inhabits. He was impressed by the splendid work Dr. Albert Mansbridge and the leaders of the Workers' Educational Association were doing, through the tutorial-class movement, to build up the minds of those workers who were willing in their leisure time to engage in systematic studies of the higher type. One thing Mr. Haldane insisted on was that whatever the subject of instruction in the lectures and in the discussions which follow them might be, it must be on the highest level. The University alone can supply this. "It is the temple consecrated to the search after the highest forms of truth. Whether we can reach final truth or not, we learn within the walls of its temples that the search after truth brings to the searcher a spirit which is of a value hardly less than the attainment of the result itself; for in this finite world there is, indeed, no such thing as finality. But what we can make sure of is the quality of mind which all honest and sustained striving towards truth brings with it."¹

But how is instruction in this spirit at the University level to be obtained? The workman cannot get to the University, the University must go to him. "The Universities must be made able, as national institutions with a larger range of activity than at present, to under-

¹ *Education and Democracy*, p. 12, an Address to the Annual Congress of the Co-operative Union in Bristol, May 1920.

take extra-mural work on a scale so great that it will be of general application throughout the land, and they must be put in a position to be fitted to bring this about.”¹ The Universities throughout England and Scotland have declared their willingness to play their part in this great task, and they are already doing what they can with their present limited means. So far as Scotland is concerned, Glasgow University is at present conducting, without special grants, adult classes in various parts of Lanark, Renfrew, and Ayr. The other three Universities have established Joint Advisory Committees on Adult Education, through which they and their staffs are co-operating to what extent they can in spreading facilities for adult education in their areas. Further the Universities cannot go, without hampering their ordinary work, unless they receive special Treasury grants to establish departments of extra-mural teaching as a normal and necessary part of their equipment. Lord Haldane greatly rejoiced at the establishment in 1927 in the University College at Nottingham of a Professorship of Adult Education, with a permanent staff of twelve fully-trained teachers, who work with the local institutes and other organisations for the higher forms of adult education. He believed that this example would spread, and that such departments would “form part of a greater and nobler University in the future.”

Lord Haldane became the apostle and missionary of adult education, and he devoted himself heart and soul to this cause during the last ten years of his life. He never refused an invitation to speak on the subject if he could possibly accept it. He toured the country

¹ *Education and Democracy*, p. 14.

giving lectures to awaken interest in the cause. He saw that not only stimulus but organisation was required and, profiting by his War Office experience, he suggested that the standards of work and forms of organisation should be worked out on something like a General Staff principle. And so he and others founded the British Institute of Adult Education in 1921. He became the first President of the Institute, and when his health began to fail, he became Honorary Life President. A few months before he died he came to Scotland to speak for the Institute, and to secure the formation of a Scottish Committee. His last public appearance in Edinburgh was at a joint meeting of the Institute and the British Broadcasting Corporation on Sunday, 15th April 1928. His subject was "The Higher Education." Those present will ever remember his closing words: "The higher education is something a man must do for himself in the main. All he can be taught is to free himself from his own prepossessions and his own narrowness, and to view life as a whole and on its deeper side. . . . Every man and woman has latent a spark of the Divine. Sometimes it is never called forth, or manifests itself but feebly. The surest way to bring it to light is by communion with the greatest minds through literature, and through the pursuit of the higher learning."

Notwithstanding the absorbing character of his many other occupations, Lord Haldane found time to write numerous works which have exerted a wide influence. He was one of the outstanding philosophical writers of his time. In collaboration with Professor A. S. Pringle-Pattison he wrote *Essays on Philosophical Criticism* in 1883. The translation in the same year,

along with Mr. John Kemp, of Schopenhauer's *World as Will and Idea*, in three volumes, is recognised as a classic in its department. *The Pathway to Reality* (1903), in two volumes, was the title under which he published the Gifford Lectures he delivered at St. Andrews University. The steady development of his philosophic thought in the light of the most recent scientific theory is shown in his work on *The Reign of Relativity* (1921). Other philosophical works by him are *The Philosophy of Humanism* (1922); *Human Experience* (1926); *Affirmation* (1928). His other writings include *Life of Adam Smith* (1887); *Education and Empire* (1902); *The Conduct of Life* (1904); *Army Reform and Other Addresses* (1907); *Universities and the National Life* (1912); *Higher Nationality* (1913); *Before the War* (1920); *Selected Essays and Addresses* (1928).

Lord Haldane died, after a short illness, at Cloan, his Perthshire home, on 19th August 1928. In him the nation lost one of its ablest and most patriotic public servants, and Scotland one of her most distinguished and most honoured sons. Gifted with a massive intellect, he was also an indefatigable worker, and a student till the last. The inclination to hard work, always great, grew with him as his years advanced. In the range of his intellectual interests, and in the encyclopædic extent and the profundity and accuracy of his knowledge, he had few, if any, equals among his contemporaries. There was in his writings, more particularly on education, a note of conviction and spiritual fervour which came from no other writer of his time. The assessment of Lord Haldane's achievements as a statesman may safely be left to the historian of the future. Great as were his merits in other fields,

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it may be that when the final estimate of his life-work is made the first place will be given to his ungrudging services on behalf of education of every grade. No one pleaded so earnestly or so ably the cause of those to whom circumstances had denied the blessings of University study, and he devoted the whole weight of his influence and the last of his strength to furthering adult education, in order that the workers should rise to the highest intellectual and ethical standard.

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